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THOMAS JEFFERSON'S
GERMANTOWN LETTERS

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Th Jefferson

*From the original painting by Gilbert Stuart,
in the possession of Bowdoin College*

JEFFERSON'S *"Germantown Letters"*

TOGETHER *with* OTHER PAPERS RELATING
to HIS STAY *in* GERMANTOWN DURING
the MONTH *of* NOVEMBER, 1793

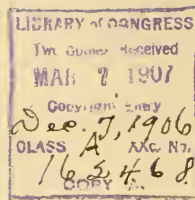
BY
CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS
PRESIDENT OF
THE SITE AND RELIC SOCIETY
OF GERMANTOWN



PHILADELPHIA
WILLIAM J. CAMPBELL
1906

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INTRODUCTION

THOMAS JEFFERSON, while Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet, spent the month of November, 1793, in Germantown. In August of that year the first great epidemic of yellow fever visited Philadelphia, and the President, the members of his cabinet and nearly every government official sought safety outside the stricken city. Washington and his household set out for Mount Vernon on September 9th. Jefferson in the spring had taken a house on the east bank of the Schuylkill, within sight of Bartram's and Gray's gardens. Here he spent the heated days with his daughter Maria as companion, living in the open air and enjoying the broad prospect, and particularly the shade of the high plane trees which entirely embosomed the house. Under them he breakfasted, dined, wrote, read and received his company. Situated as he was, there was little

to fear from the yellow fever, but by the 15th of September every official matter having been disposed of, and all the clerks in his office but one having fled the city, Jefferson concluded to return home. The start from Philadelphia was made on September 15th, and the party reached Monticello on the 22nd of that month.

Here he remained until late in October, when the President having selected Germantown as a convenient and safe gathering point for the members of Congress and the cabinet, Jefferson set out for this place.

The Secretary of State during the summer had resigned his office to take effect December 31st. Relinquishing his post in mid-winter would compel him, should he return immediately to Virginia, to plough through the heavy, muddy roads, and for this reason he did not wish to use his own horses and carriage, and the journey from Monticello to Germantown was therefore made by horseback and the public stage. The start was made on October 25th, with two servants, James and Bob. The latter

returned with the horses from Fredericksburg, which was reached on the 27th. The next day's journey was a stage ride to Alexandria, and the second day of stage riding brought them to Baltimore. Here Jefferson joined the President, who had left Mount Vernon on the 28th, and here they found the stages had not resumed running to Philadelphia, and that it was consequently necessary to hire a private conveyance.

The united party came by way of Elkton and Wilmington, spending two nights on the road, and reaching Germantown about noon on November 1st. Jefferson paid Hartman Elliot for six days' service, three each going and coming from Baltimore to Germantown, thirty dollars. In addition there were ferriage charges, which amounted to \$3.18. The total expense from Fredericksburg to Germantown was \$77.65, of which Jefferson bitterly complained when writing to his family and his Virginia friends, and warned them of the "harpies" who were preying on unfortunate travellers.

Arriving in Germantown, the President

was quartered in a house occupied by the Rev. Frederick Herman, now number 130 West School House Lane, while Jefferson found shelter at the King of Prussia tavern, an important hostelry still standing, but now used for other purposes, Nos. 5516-18-20 Main Street. Although the yellow fever by this time had almost entirely disappeared in Philadelphia, the suburbs were still crowded with refugees. Every inn, of which there were quite a number in Germantown, was filled to its capacity and the Secretary of State found great difficulty in obtaining accommodations. A bed in the corner of the public room of the King of Prussia was the best he could obtain, the alternative being to wrap himself in his cloak and sleep before the open fire. Little rooms in the tavern, which Jefferson describes as "cuddies," without a bed, and without a chair or table cost four to eight dollars a week, and at the time there was not a single lodging house offering accommodations. By the 9th of the month, however, the refugees began flocking back to the city,

and Jefferson was able to engage beds at the tavern for his friends, Madison and Monroe, whom he momentarily expected. They did not, however, come to Germantown, but later went directly to Philadelphia. By the 14th of November the Secretary of State and Thomas Lapsley, the "office keeper," who had been with him at the King of Prussia, were able to obtain rooms elsewhere for the accommodation of themselves and of the office. Just where these were is not definitely known. Watson in his *Annals* states that the house now numbered 5275 and 5277 Main Street was the one occupied by Jefferson and by Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General. In 1793 this property belonged to Matthew Clarkson, then Mayor of Philadelphia, and at that time valiantly fighting the yellow fever in the stricken city. When the annalist recorded the tradition the building was occupied by himself and the Bank of Germantown, of which he was the cashier. If Edmund Randolph shared the house with the Secretary of State, it was only to maintain an office there as he was quar-

tered at the home of Nathan Spencer, nearly a mile from the centre of the town, out what is now Church Lane.

Jefferson writing to Madison on November 17th says, "I have got good lodgings for Monroe and yourself, that is to say, a good room with a fire place and two beds, in a pleasant and convenient position, with a quiet family. They will breakfast you, but you must mess in a tavern. There is a good one across the street. This is the way all must do, and all I think will not be able to get even half beds." It, of course, does not necessarily follow that this double room was in the same house where Jefferson was lodging. Indeed, the presumption is that it was not, but that it was near by.

With all the accumulated business to master, amidst the cramped quarters, the constant bustle and the coming and going of the saddened citizens, Jefferson worked away, not without some physical discomfort, for he was troubled with the toothache. On the 13th he paid Dr. Gilliams for drawing a tooth and

again a week later records another payment to the dentist for further services. The servant James, whom he had brought with him, was the almoner for the household, and the financial diary on another page discloses various charges for housekeeping expenses, including fuel and groceries, which would seem to indicate that some meals at least were provided in the rented rooms. "Hicory" wood was bought in considerable quantities, half of it for personal use and half properly chargeable to office expenses. Thomas Lapsley, the "office keeper," was boarded by a neighbor, Weiss. On November 30th a Mr. Crosby furnished "waggonage" from Germantown to Philadelphia and the first Secretary of State of the United States shook the dust, or more probably the mud, of Germantown's unpaved Main Street from his feet and went into the city for his last month of service as a member of the cabinet.

As complete an account of the movements of the President and his circle of official advisors in Germantown, including those of Thomas

Jefferson, as was obtainable at the time, was given in the author's "Washington in Germantown," published in 1905. The information relating to Jefferson's movements here gathered is largely in addition to what was there presented. But two of the letters in this volume were printed in the previous work.

Three editions of the letters and writings of Thomas Jefferson have so far been issued. The first, the *Memoirs, Correspondence and Miscellanies*, edited by his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, and published in Charlottesville, Va., in 1829. This edition contains two of the letters written from Germantown. The next edition of Jefferson's writings was authorized by Congress, and usually called the *Congress edition*; edited by H. A. Washington. This was published in 1853 and contains seven of the letters written during November 1793, including the two published in the earlier edition. In 1892 the third edition, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, was edited by Paul Leicester Ford, and this contains thirteen Germantown

letters, including four published in the earlier editions. It will thus be seen that in the three essays to print the letters of Thomas Jefferson, but sixteen of the sixty-three letters included in the present volume have been brought to light. In the case of Mr. Ford, this was entirely a matter of selection, for the originals of nearly all these letters were accessible to him in the Library of Congress, and as a matter of fact all the letters in this volume, except where noted, are copied from the originals or copies of the Jefferson manuscripts in that library.

While it is quite likely that this collection, which includes every letter obtainable at the present time, will be valuable mainly as stimulating interest in the local history of Germantown, still it is hoped by the compiler that many of the letters will be of interest to the student of general history. They will at least disclose the great activity of the office of the Secretary of State during this busy month.

The letters naturally group themselves in two classes, those concerning the Secretary of

State's private affairs and the official correspondence of the department. Of the former, none are more interesting and lively than the letters to his two daughters, Martha Jefferson Randolph and Miss Maria Jefferson at Monticello. Filled as they are with little personal concerns, with information of a domestic character, with the interest of an absent father in the affairs and doings of his home, they yet convey considerable information of a public character. The letter to his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, offering him his horse, Ferguson, is a model of tact and kindness. The other private letters cover all the fields of Jefferson's activities. His devotion to science is disclosed by the importation of the orrery and the telescope, his practical knowledge and personal management of his farm is shown by the purchase of sheep and clover seed, and the terms of employment of his supervisor ; his desire for the general promotion of agriculture is displayed in his solicitude for the safety of the model of the threshing machine, sent at considerable trouble and expense from

England, and his immediate interest in the practical possibilities of Whitney's invention of the cotton gin. Then, too, there are the many letters of financial matters, shadowing in a way the saddest chapter in the great man's life. As late as 1823 Jefferson was still writing to Herman LeRoy, of New York, on the subject of an indebtedness which there is every reason to believe was the same as is disclosed in the letter of November 17, 1793. No letter is more characteristic than that to his Rhode Island friend, David Howell, showing the desire of the man for his home, his books and his farm, a longing which possessed him through his public life. The letters to James Madison bespeak the warm friendship which existed between these two remarkable Virginian neighbors, a friendship which death alone could sever. Perhaps it would be hard to find correspondence of any other month which so fully covers the many-sided interests and activities of the Sage of Monticello, or which in the official letters disclose more of the wide outlook and ability of the statesman.

The correspondence with Genet, the Minister of France, relates entirely to the controversies and troubles which the Revolution in France and the intemperate conduct of the French envoy brought upon this government. The correspondence with George Hammond, the Minister of Great Britain, covers the difficulties with that country, growing out of the yet unfulfilled terms of the Treaty of Peace and the complications occasioned by the war with France. Both of these matters are treated at length in the general histories covering this troubled period of our nation's life and the latter correspondence has been published complete in book form.

Another official letter of particular interest is that to the District Attorneys of the United States, explaining the limit of jurisdiction claimed by this government in the waters bordering our seaboard. Throughout many of the letters considerable local information is disclosed in little references here and there. All in all, the compiler hopes that the reader will

agree with him that the collection is of permanent value, that it is worth publishing both as giving to Germantown the credit which is its due as being the temporary capital of the United States, and as a permanent contribution to an important period of our nation's history.

In addition to the letters a number of separate and original documents germane to the subject of Jefferson's stay in Germantown have been included. The extracts from the financial diary, covering the expenses of the trip from Monticello and the stay in Germantown, contain much accurate personal information. Jefferson's graphic account of the Germantown cabinet meetings is very properly included, while the eulogy delivered by Walter R. Johnson on the death of Jefferson and Adams has been added that it may be available for present day readers. A careful search fails to disclose a copy of this booklet in any of the Philadelphia libraries or in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In concluding, expressions of obligation for assistance should be made to Mr. Wilber-

force Eames of the Lenox Library, New York City, to Mr. Edward H. Bonsall, Philadelphia, and to Mr. S. M. Hamilton of the Library of the Department of State, Washington, D. C., Dr. John W. Jordan of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Dr. Naaman H. Keyser of Germantown.

PART I.

THE
GERMANTOWN
LETTERS

The Germantown Letters

JEFFERSON TO MADISON (?)*

Germantown Nov. 2, 1793.

Sir

I overtook the President at Baltimore, & we arrived here yesterday, myself fleeced of seventy odd dollars to get from Fredricksburg here, the stages running no further than Baltimore. I mention this to put you and Mr. Monroe on your guard. the fever in Philadelphia has so much abated as to have almost disappeared. the inhabitants are about returning. It has been determined that the President shall not interfere with the meeting of Congress. R.[andolph] H.[amilton] & K.[nox] were of opinion he had a right to call them to any place but that the occasion did not call for it. I think the President

*While no name is given it is supposed this letter was addressed to James Madison.

inclined to the opinion. I proposed a proclam. notifying that the Executive business would be done here till further notice, which I believe will be agreed. H. R. Lewis, Rawle* & all concur in the necessity that Congress should meet in Phila. & vote there their own adjournment, if it shall then be necessary to change the place. the question will be between N. Y. & Lancaster, the Pensylv. members are very anxious for the latter, & will attend punctually to support it as well as to support Muhlonburg & oppose the appointment of Smith (S. C.) speaker, which is intended by the Northern members. according to present appearances this place cannot lodge a single person more. as a great favor I have got a bed in the corner of the public room of a tavern:† and must so continue till some of the Philadelphians make a

*William Rawle then U. S. District Attorney for Pennsylvania.

†This was the King of Prussia tavern, No. 5516-18-20 Main Street, perhaps in that day the leading tavern of Germantown, certainly the most centrally located. A drive-way at the south end of the King of Prussia leads into what at one time were the extensive back buildings and stables. An examination of the south gable of the old tavern and the building the other side of the drive-way would seem to indicate that at one time joists had been thrown across between the two houses. The writer has speculated as to whether this might not have been done when Germantown was so over-crowded with the yellow fever refugees from Philadelphia and rooms were at a great premium.

vacancy by removing into the city. Then we must give from 4 to 6 or 8 dollars a week for cuddies without a bed, and sometimes without a chair or table. there is not a single lodging-house in the place.—Ross* & Willing† are alive. Hancock§ is dead. Johnson|| of Maryland. has *refused*. Ru. L. & McL.‡ in contemplation. the last least.—you will have seen Genet's letters to Moultrie & to myself. of the last I know nothing but from the public papers; and he published Moultrie's letter & his answer the moment he wrote it. you will see that his inveteracy against the President leads him to meditate the embroiling him with Congress. they say he is going to be married to a daughter of Clinton's** if so, he is afraid

*John Ross, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia.

†Thomas Willing, President of the United States Bank.

§John Hancock, the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, at this time Governor of Massachusetts. He died October 8th, 1793.

||The proffered office of Secretary of State to succeed Jefferson. This was Thomas Johnson a leading statesman of Maryland and ex-Justice of the Supreme Court.

‡Ru[tledge] L[ivingston], and McL[urg] ?

**Edmond Charles Edouard Genet minister of France in the United States married the daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York and located permanently in the United States. His controversies with the United States authorities constituted a large part of the diplomatic activity of the summer and fall of 1793. A number

to return to France. Hamilton* is ill, & suspicious he has taken the fever again by returning to his house. he of course could not attend here to-day, but the President showed me his letter on the right of calling Congress to another place. Adieu.

JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH†

Germantown Nov. 2, 1793.

Dear Sir

After having experienced on my journey the extremes of heat, cold, dust & rain, I arrived here yesterday. I found at Baltimore that the stages run no further North, and being from that circumstance into the hands of the harpies who prey upon travellers,

of letters in this collection and a good part of the deliberations of the cabinet in Germantown were devoted to the problems which arose through the intemperate speech and actions of the French minister.

*Both Alexander Hamilton and his wife were taken down with the yellow fever early in the contagion. They recovered and on their return from a visit to New York state, occupied Fair Hill, the Norris mansion, on the Germantown road, about half way between that town and the city. Hamilton apparently was unwell through the month of November, as he was absent from a cabinet meeting late in the month on account of ill health.

†Son-in-law of Jefferson, the husband of his daughter Martha, to whom he had been married February 23d 1790.

was pretty well fleeced to get here. I think from Fredericksburg here with a single servant cost me upwards of seventy dollars. before this change in the weather the fever had much abated in Philadelphia, & at this time it has almost entirely disappeared, insomuch that the inhabitants are very many of them returning into the city. this is very necessary for our accommodation here, as this place is so full that I have been able to obtain a bed in the corner of a public room of a tavern only, and that is a great favor, the other alternative being to sleep on the floor in my cloak before the fire. in this state I am waiting till some Philadelphians may take courage to go into the city, & make a vacancy here. Nothing will be done by the President as to the meeting of Congress. it is imagined that knowing he is here, and after settling informally to what place they will remove, they will go into the fields of the city and pass a regular vote. the pure blacks have been found insusceptible of the infection, the mixed blood has taken it. what is more singular is that tho' hundreds have been taken with the disease out of Philadelphia, have died of it after being well attended, yet not a single instance has occurred of any body's *catching it out of Philadelphia*, the question for the session of Congress will lie between Philadelphia, New York & Lancaster.—

Freneau's paper* is discontinued. I fear it is for the want of money. he promises to resume it before the meeting of Congress. I wish the subscribers in our neighborhood would send on their money. my love to my dear daughters & am with sincere esteem Dr. Sir

Yours affectionately

Th : Jefferson.

P. S. Mr. Hollingsworth at the Head of Elk thinks he can immediately send me on a good overseer in the place of Rogers. I authorised him to allow exactly the same as to Biddle.† Consequently on his arrival I must get you to give him orders on Watson & Colo. Bell for the same necessaries which I had furnished to Biddle.

Mr. Randolph.

*Philip Freneau, one of the early recognized poets of America, founded the *National Gazette* in Philadelphia in October 1791, and continued its publication until October 26, 1793, when on account of the yellow fever and perhaps the lack of support, as Jefferson intimates, the project was abandoned. Freneau was employed as a clerk of foreign languages in the State Department, and his retention and protection by Jefferson, in spite of the bitter attacks of the *National Gazette* on the President and his policies was warmly criticized by friends of the Administration. He resigned the office of translator October 1st, 1793.

†The terms under which Samuel Biddle, the overseer, had been engaged will be found in a letter to Jacob Hollingsworth on a later page.



*King of Russia Tavern
Bear View*

JEFFERSON TO RICHARD DODSON.

Germantown, Nov. 3. 93.

Sir

In my letter of Aug. 20. I asked the favor of you to furnish me a statement of the paiments made on my bill of exchange—& bond and of the balance due, & to have the same lodged at Monticello, where I proposed being during the month of October, that I might give definite directions for the payment of it. not having received it while there, I have now to ask the favor of it's being lodged there at any time before the beginning of January when I shall return there, to remain, and will then take measures for the discharge of it. I am Sir

Your very humble servt

Th: Jefferson

Mr. Richard Dodson

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND GENET.*

Germantown, November 5th 1793.

Sir,

I have the honor the inclose you the copy of a Letter from Mr. Moissonier Consul of France at Bal-

*Minister of France to the United States. See foot note page 29.

timore to the Governor of Maryland, announcing that Great Britain is about to commence hostilities against us, and that he purposes to collect the Naval force of your Republic in the Chesapeāk and to post them as a Van-guard to derange the supposed designs of the enemy.

The bare suggestion of such a fact, however improbable, renders it a duty to inquire into it; and I shall consider it as a proof of your friendship to our nation, if you have it in your power, and will be pleased to communicate to me the grounds of Mr. Moissonier's assertion, or any other respectable evidence on the part of Great Britain.

In the mean while as we have reason to believe it unfounded, as they have in no instance as yet violated the sovereignty of our rights by any commitment of hostilities even on their enemies within our jurisdiction, we presume with confidence that Mr. Moissonier's fears are groundless. I have it therefore in charge to desire you to admonish Mr. Moissonier against the parade he proposes of stationing an advanced guard in the bay of Chesapeak, and against any hostile array, which under the profession of defensive operations may in fact generate those offensive. I flatter myself, Sir, that you will be so good as to join the effect of your authority of our government to prevent measures on

the part of this Agent of your Republic which may bring on disagreeable consequences.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir

Your most obedient &
most humble servant—

Th: Jefferson

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND GENET.

Germantown Nov. 5. 1793.

Sir,

I shall be late in acknowledging the receipt of your several letters written since my departure from Philadelphia, not having received any of them till the 24th ult: and most of them only the last night. I have already laid some of them before the President and shall lay the others successively before him at as early moments as the pressure of business will permit.

That of September 20. with the decree of the national convention of March 26. 1792 on the subject of a treaty of commerce was laid before him yesterday, and will be considered with all the respect & interest which its object necessarily requires. In the mean time, that I may be enabled to present him a faithful translation of the decree, I take the liberty of returning the copy to you with a prayer that you will have it examined by your original, and see whether there is not

some error in the latter part of the 2d. article, page 2 where the description of the cargo to be re-exported from the Islands is so unusual as to induce me to suspect an error in the copyist. Having to return the decree for re-examination, I take the liberty of doing the same by the letter covering it, as in the first lines of the 7th page the sense appears to me incomplete, and I wish to be able to give it with correctness.

I am able at present to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 19. desiring Exequaturs for Messrs. Runevert & Chervi, but not inclosing their original commissions. It is of indispensable necessity that these originals be produced to the President & copies of them filed of record in my office; because occasions may sometimes occur where authentic copies of them may be required which cannot be furnished but after an exhibition of the *original itself*. An exhibition of a copy & a copy from that would not be received as evidence by our courts in any case where it should be called for.

I must therefore trouble you to find me the originals.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of respect
Sir, Your obedient & most humble servant

Th : Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO TOBIAS LEAR.*

Germantown Nov. 5. 1793.

Dear Sir

Your favor of Oct. 10. reached me at Monticello on the night before my departure ; that of Nov. 1. last night. I have thrown upon paper very roughly such notes as my memory enables me to make, for my papers are not at present at this place.—I also inclose letters to such acquaintances of mine as I think may be most useful to you. there are none to London, because I have none there, & you will easily get them from everybody ; and only one to Dumas, at Amsterdam, because Mr Greenleaf will so perfectly introduce you there. I could only have given you letters to the V. Staphorsts & Hubbard, with whom Mr Greenleaf is particularly connected. I have given you none to political men in Paris, because all my friends there have been turned adrift in the different stages of the progression of their revolution. I add my sincere wishes for your success & safety, and assurances of perfect esteem & attachment from Dear Sir

Your friend & servt

P S. I retire decidedly Th: Jefferson
the 1st day of January next.

Mr Lear.

*Tobias Lear was formerly private secretary to President Washington, and was then about embarking for Europe.

JEFFERSON TO DAVID RITTENHOUSE.*

Germantown Nov. 6. 1793.

Dear Sir

You will receive herein inclosed the bill of lading & invoice for between 9. & 10. tons of copper shipped by Mr. Pinckney† on board the Pigon for the use of the mint, for the reception & charges of which you will be pleased to give proper orders.

It has been understood that Mr. Wright‡ our engraver is dead. if this be the fact, will you be so good as to recommend for the office such person as you think best qualified to execute.

I hope Mrs. Rittenhouse & yourself have enjoyed good health during the late trying season and am with great & sincere esteem Dr. Sir

Your friend & servt.

Th: Jefferson

Mr. Rittenhouse.

*David Rittenhouse was appointed director of the Mint of the United States April 14, 1792, although he did not enter upon the duties of his office until July 1st, 1793. He resigned the office on June 30, 1795.

†Thomas Pinckney then U. S. Minister to Great Britain.

‡Joseph Wright, a portrait painter, had been appointed by Washington first designer and die sinker in the United States Mint. He and his wife both died of the yellow fever during the epidemic.

JEFFERSON TO MESSRS. VIAR & JAUDENES.*

Germantown Nov. 6. 1793.

Gentlemen

It was not till the 24th of October that I received your favor of the 2d of that month, informing me that the four Frenchmen therein named & described had set out from Philadelphia for Kentucky furnished with money, commissions, & instructions to proceed with a hostile enterprise from our territories against those of Spain. I took the first opportunity of laying the same before the President and was in consequence charged by him to communicate it to the Governor of Kentucky, with instructions to prevent such an enterprise by such peaceable means as the laws have provided if sufficient, but if insufficient to suppress it by the military force of his state: and I flatter myself that these measures will have the desired effect. the laws of our country do not permit us to seize the papers of individuals until they shall have done some act which subjects their persons to be arrested. for this reason no order can be given to violate the secrecy of their papers.

*Don Joseph De Viar and Don Joseph De Jaudens were the joint commissioners from Spain to the United States. At a later date the former was made Consul General and the latter Envoy Extraordinary, etc.

I have the honor to be with great esteem & respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

& most humble servant

Th: Jefferson.

Messrs. Viar & Jaudenes.

JEFFERSON TO GENERAL HENRY KNOX. *

Germantown Nov. 6. 1793.

Dear Sir

As it is possible that the measures complained of by the representatives of Spain as meditated to be pursued by la Chaise & others for attempting hostilities from Kentucky against the Spanish settlements, may require the employment of military force by the Governor of Kentucky, I have the honor to inclose you my letter to the Governor, stating the facts handed me by the Spanish gentlemen, & submit to yourself whether instructions from yourself to him may not be necessary with respect to the use of military force if necessary.

* General Henry Knox, the Secretary of War, was quartered at this time at the country home of the Rev. William Smith, near the Falls of the Schuylkill. He was frequently in Germantown during the month of November 1793, attending cabinet meetings and conferences with other members of the government.

my letter gives none on that subject. I have the honor to be with great esteem & respect Dear Sir

Your most obedt. servt.

Th: Jefferson

P. S. be so good as to forward
my letter with your own.
The Secretary at War.

GEORGE TAYLOR* TO JEFFERSON

New York Nov. 8. 1793.

½ past 11 AM.

Dear sir,

Your favor of the 3rd. instant I have had the honor to receive a few moments ago. Ever willing to fulfil my duty to the utmost of my power I shall take immediate steps for complying with your desire to take arrangements for resuming the Business of the office. To this end I shall set off with my little family in the first days of next week.

From the present state of the weather and of the disorder in Philadelphia, communicated thro' the medium of the public prints, it would seem rather imprudent to risk a residence in that city. I should

*Chief clerk of the Department of State, Blackwell and Bankson, mentioned in this letter, were also clerks in that office.

therefore give a preference to Germantown for the present, tho' the expense should be greater than my circumstances will afford; being convinced that on this occasion Congress will readily allow any extraordinary expenses necessarily incurred in prosecuting the public Business.

I shall immediately forward a copy of your letter to Mr. Blackwell, who I am informed is on Long Island. As to the other Gentlemen, I am totally ignorant of their places of Residence. I have not recd. a line from Mr. [Benjamin] Bankson since the 7. of Octr. last, tho' I have written three letters to him since that date.

Apprehensive that I may miss this days post I must close.

With every sentiment of Respect and sincere Regard, I have the honor to be

Dr. Sir, Your mo. ob. &

Mo. humble servt.

Go. Taylor.

Mr. Jefferson.

JEFFERSON TO THE BRITISH MINISTER.

(George Hammond)

Germantown, Nov. 8, 1793.

Sir,—The President of the United States thinking that before it shall be finally decided to what distance

from our sea shores the territorial protection of the United States shall be exercised, it will be proper to enter into friendly conferences & explanations with the powers chiefly interested in the navigation of the seas on our coast, and relying that convenient occasions may be taken for these hereafter, finds it necessary in the mean time, to fix provisionally on some distance for the present government of these questions. You are sensible that very different opinions & claims have been heretofore advanced on this subject. The greatest distance to which any respectable assent among nations has been at any time given, has been the extent of the human sight, estimated at upwards of 20. miles, and the smallest distance I believe, claimed by any nation whatever is the utmost range of a cannon ball, usually stated at one sea-league. Some intermediate distances have also been insisted on, and that of three sea leagues has some authority in its favor. The character of our coast, remarkable in some parts of it for admitting no vessels of size to pass near the shores, would entitle us in reason to as broad a margin of protected navigation as any nation whatever. Reserving however the ultimate extent of this for future deliberation the President gives instructions to the officers acting under his authority to consider those heretofore given them as restrained for the present to the distance of one sea-

league or three geographical miles from the sea shore. This distance can admit of no opposition as it is recognized by treaties between some of the powers with whom we are connected in commerce and navigation, and is as little or less than is claimed by any of them on their own coasts. For the jurisdiction of the rivers and bays of the United States the laws of the several states are understood to have made provision, and they are moreover as being landlocked, within the body of the United States.

Examining by this rule the case of the British brig *Fanny*, taken on the 8th of May last, it appears from the evidence that the capture was made four or five miles from the land, and consequently without the line provisionally adopted by the President as before mentioned.*

JEFFERSON TO THE FRENCH MINISTER.
(Edmond Charles Genet.)

Germantown, November 8, 1793.

Sir,—I have now to acknowledge and answer your letter of September 13, wherein you desire that we may de-

*A letter identical with the above, omitting the last paragraph was sent to the representatives of Holland and Spain. On the draft, Jefferson has endorsed: "These two drafts were shown to the Atty Genl. & approved without alterations. The fair copies were shown to Colo. Hamilton & Genl. Knox before dinner at Bockius' inn, Germantown & approved."

fine the extent of the line of territorial protection on the coasts of the United States, observing that Governments and jurisconsults have different views on this subject.

It is certain that, heretofore, they have been much divided in opinion as to the distance from their sea coasts, to which they might reasonably claim a right of prohibiting the commitment of hostilities. The greatest distance, to which any respectable assent among nations has been at any time given, has been the extent of the human sight, estimated at upwards of twenty miles, and the smallest distance, I believe, claimed by any nation whatever, is the utmost range of a cannon ball, usually stated at one sea league. Some intermediate distances have also been insisted on, and that of three sea-leagues has some authority in its favour. The character of our coasts, remarkable in considerable parts of it for admitting no vessels of size to pass near the shores, would entitle us, in reason, to as broad a margin of protected navigation, as any nation whatever. Not proposing, however, at this time, and without a respectful and friendly communication with the Powers interested in this navigation, to fix on the distance to which we may ultimately insist on the right of protection, the President gives instructions to the officers, acting under this authority, to consider those heretofore

given them as restrained for the present to the distance of one sea-league, or three geographical miles from the sea-shore. This distance can admit of no opposition as it is recognized by treaties between some of the Powers with whom we are connected in commerce and navigation, and is as little or less than is claimed by any of them on their own coasts.

Future occasions will be taken to enter into explanations with them, as to the ulterior extent to which we may reasonably carry our jurisdiction. For that of the rivers and bays of the United States, the laws of the several States are understood to have made provision, and they are, moreover, as being landlocked, within the body of the United States.

Examining by this rule, the case of the British brig *Fanny*, taken on the 8th of May last, it appears from the evidence, that the capture was made four or five miles from the land, and consequently without the line provisionally adopted by the President as before mentioned.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of respect and esteem, Sir

Your most obedient,
and humble servant,
Th : Jefferson*

*In Jefferson's draft of this letter is found at the end a paragraph queried and struck out, as follows :

JEFFERSON TO MADISON.

Germantown, Nov. 9, '3.

The stages from Philadelphia to Baltimore are to be resumed to-morrow. the fever has almost disappeared. the Physicians say they have no new subject since the rain. some old ones are still to recover or die, & it is presumed that will close the tragedy. the inhabitants, refugees, are now flocking back generally; this will give us accommodation here. the Pres. sets out to-morrow for Reading, & perhaps Lancaster to return in a week.* he will probably remain here till the meeting of Congress, should Philadelphia become ever so safe, as the members may not be satisfied of that point till they have time to inform themselves. Toulon

“With respect to the British ship William taken on the 3d of May last, the testimony as to the place of seizure varies from 2 to 5, miles from the sea shore. The information of a certain Peter Dalton stated in the paper inclosed in your letter of Oct. 19. extends the distance from 14. to 16. miles. But his evidence not having been given before a magistrate legally qualified to place him under the solemnity of an oath & bound to cross examine him, I am to desire that his evidence, if it is to be insisted on may be taken in legal form, and forwarded for the consideration of the President.”

*Before starting on his trip to Reading and Lancaster Washington went into Philadelphia, much against the advice of some of his cabinet. This fact was published in many of the papers of the day in nearly identical words, the item having been copied from one of the Philadelphia papers. The following is from “Herald of the United

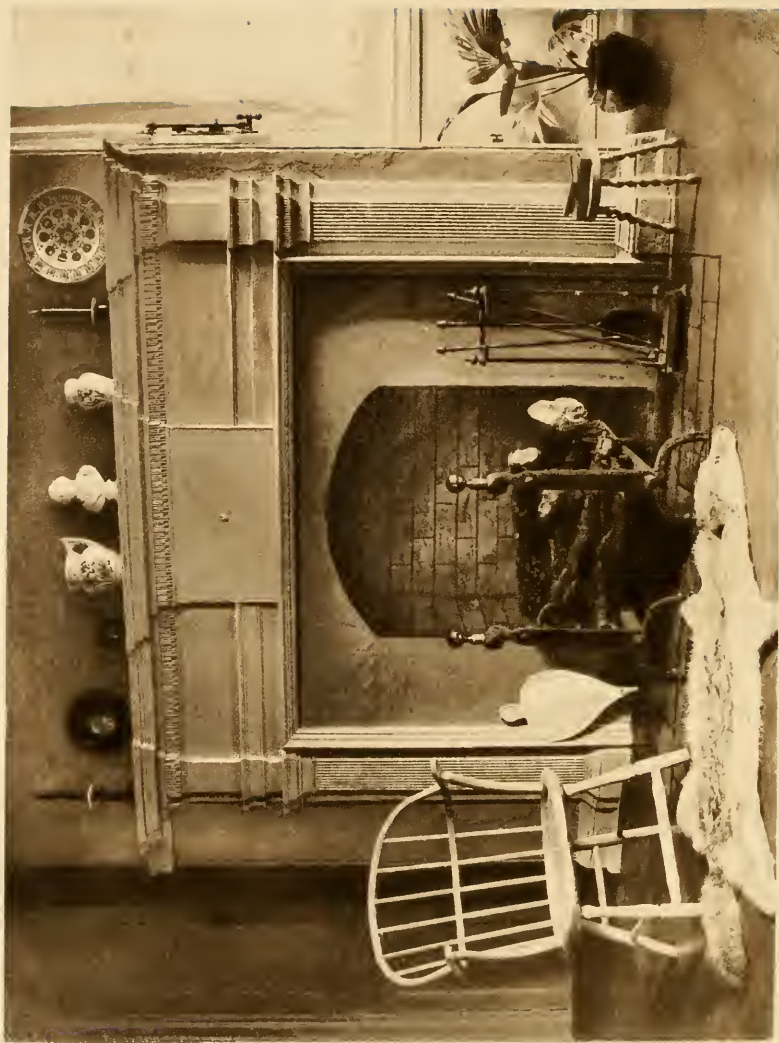
has surrendered to Engld. & Spain. Grandanse in St. Domingo to England. the British have received a check before Dunkirk, probably a great one, but the particulars cannot yet be depended on. it happened about the 5th of September. when Monroe & yourself arrive here, come to Bockeas's tavern (sign the K.[ing] of Prussia) I will have engaged beds there for you for your temporary accommodation. Adieu.

EDWARD RUTLEGE TO JEFFERSON.

Dear Sir

I have been requested by the Gentlemen who have signed the within memorial, to place it under your Protection, & I do so, with the greatest chearfulness, because I know full well, that the sole motive by which they were actuated, was, Humanity. The People of St. Domingo, came to our Shores, in such Numbers, & in so destitute a Condition, & the Funds of our Citizens were so unequal to their comfortable Support, that the Memorialists, who are Respectable Merchants, & among the foremost in relieving the distressed, prevailed on poor Thompson (who felt as they did, for the Wretched) to take the Command of a small vessel,

States'', published at Warren, R. I., Saturday Nov. 23d, 1793 :
"Philadelphia Nov. 11th, With pleasure we mention the arrival of the President of the United States in town this day from Germantown."



Fire Place in the King of Russia's Town

& sail for the Island of St. Domingo, expressly for the Purpose, which is mentioned in the Dispatch.

I know you too well to doubt of your assistance, if it can be effectually applied—The Method I must leave to yourself

With Sentiments of real Affection I am

My dear Sir, your sincere & obliged Friend

Ed : Rutledge

The Honble.

T. Jefferson Esqr. &c. &c.

Charleston, Novr. 9th. 1793.

JEFFERSON TO HENRY REMSEN JR. *

Germantown Nov. 9, 1793

Dear Sir

I am returned to this place about a week ago, the President having concluded to fix the Executive here until the meeting of Congress or till we shall see whether Philadelphia becomes safe. it is believed to be so now, insomuch that the refugee inhabitants are flocking into it. it is said there are no new subjects in the hands of the Physicians since the great rains. some of those before infected are still sick. I therefore think it probable that Congress will find it safe to sit there.

* Henry Remsen Jr. was a leading merchant of New York.

we expect that knowing the President to be here it will be an evidence to them that this place is safe, that they will therefore gather here, consult informally together as to the place of their session, & having made up their minds on that point, will go into the fields of Philadelphia (if they think the Congress house not safe) and there adjourn by a vote. their next meeting having been fixed by a joint vote (which is a law as to this matter) it is understood that they cannot be a legal body, till they shall legally change the place.

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of Oct. 1. 7. 12. and I thank you for your care of the letters, and the box containing my model of the threshing machine.* about this machine I am most anxious,

*“ My threshing machine is arrived at New York. Mr. Pinckney writes me word that the original from which this model is copied threshes 150. bushels of wheat in 8. hours, with 6. horses and 5. men. It may be moved either by water or horses. Fortunately the workman who made it (a millwright) is come in the same vessel to settle in America. I have written to persuade him to go on immediately to Richmd, offering him the use of my model to exhibit, and to give him letters to get him into immediate employ in making them. I expect an answer before I write to you again. I understand that the model is made mostly in brass, & in the simple form in which it was first ordered, to be worked by horses. It was to have cost 5. guineas, but Mr. Pinckney having afterwards directed it to be accommodated to water movement also, it has made it more complicated, and costs 13. guineas. It will thresh any grain from the Windsor bean down to the smallest.” Jefferson to Madison, September 1st, 1793.

as its most precious to my future occupation as a farmer. I will therefore pray you to send it by some American vessel going to Richmond, & not to any other place in Virginia, because were it landed at Norfolk, or anywhere else I know from experience the certainty of losing it. great pains have been taken by Mr. Pinckney to procure the model & get it out to me, & it has cost 13. guineas. I will bear in mind the price of the [word obliterated] & send it by the first person I see going to New York : in the mean time should we go into Philadelphia and you should fulfill your purpose of visiting that place I shall be very happy to see you should I be still there as I shall be to the close of the year. I am with great and sincere esteem Dr. Sir

Your friend & sert

Th : Jefferson.

P. S. be pleased to direct
the box to the care of Colo.
Robert Gamble merchant
Richmd.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND GENET.

Germantown, Novr. 10th 1793.

Sir,

As in cases where vessels are reclaimed by the subjects or citizens of the belligerent powers as having been taken within the jurisdiction of the United States,

it becomes necessary to ascertain that fact by testimony taken according to the laws of the United States, The Governors of the several States to whom the applications will be made in the first instance, are desired immediately to notify thereof the Attornies of their respective districts, The Attorney is thereupon instructed to give notice to the principal Agent of both parties who may have come in with the prize, and also to the Consuls of the Nations interested, and to recommend to them to appoint, by mutual consent, arbiters to decide whether the captures were made within the jurisdiction of the United States, as stated to you in my letter of the 9th inst. according to whose award the Governor may proceed to deliver the Vessel to the one or the other party. But in case the parties or Consul shall not agree to receive arbiters, then the Attorney, or some person substituted by him, is to notify them of the time and place when and where he will be, in order to take the depositions of such witnesses as they may cause to come before him, which depositions he is to transmit for the information & decision of the President.

It has been thought best to put this business into such a train as that the examination of the fact may take place immediately and before the witnesses may have again departed from the United States,

which would too frequently happen, & especially in the distant States, if it should be deferred till information is sent to the Executive, and a special order awaited to take the depositions.

I take the liberty of requesting that you will be pleased to give such instructions to the Consuls of your nation as may facilitate the object of this regulation. I urge it with the more earnestness, because as the Attornies of the districts are for the most part engaged in much business of their own, they will rarely be able to attend more than one appointment, and consequently the party who should fail from negligence or other motives to produce his witnesses at the time & place appointed, might lose the benefit of their testimony altogether. This prompt procedure is the more to be insisted on as it will enable the President by an immediate delivery of the Vessel and Cargo to the party having title, to prevent the injuries consequent on long delay.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient &

Most humble servant—

Th: Jefferson.

JEFFERSON TO GENERAL KNOX.

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to General Knox, & sends him some papers received last

night by the President from the Govr. of North Carolina, requesting the money & vessel taken from the Spaniards by the sloop l'Ameé Marguerite (formerly the British sloop Providence prisoner to the Vainqueur de la Bastille, armed in the U S.) it would seem from this as if both vessels should be given up.

Nov. 10. 1793.

JEFFERSON TO PETER CARR.*

Germantown, Nov. 10, 1793.

Dear Sir

I received yours of Oct. 22, a little before bedtime of the same evening, and being to set out early the next morning it was impossible for me to answer it. it was the less material, as I had written some days before, and left in the hands of Mr. Jefferson† a letter to my sister on the same subject. I had before imagined that the present state of her family would render it convenient to receive now the money which had remained so long in my hands, & which I imagined was till then a convenient occasional resource

*Peter Carr was a nephew of Jefferson, being the son of his sister Martha and Dabney Carr. The latter died in early manhood and his widow and her children made their home at Monticello.

†This was George Jefferson, a cousin, living in Richmond, Va. He was a man of such high ideals that he refused to be a candidate for an office under President Jefferson on account of their relationship.

for bad crops, unexpected calls &c. I therefore destined to discharge it out of the proceeds of an execution of Mr.—, representatives against the estate of Colo. Cary, which should have been received in February last. Mr.— has thro' the summer been giving me constant expectations from Carter Page of receiving a good part of the money. I flatter myself it cannot fail to be received in time for the demands you speak of. I have no speedier resource for it, as all others at my command will be requisite to clear me out here.

We may soon ask you how like your new course of life. the account I received of your debut in Albemarle was flattering for you, & very grateful to me. I think you have your fortune in your own hands, and that nothing is necessary but the will to make it what you please. your father's plan of a laborious & short course, rather than a languid & long one, was certainly the wisest. I wish you may adopt the same, no one on earth being more anxious for your success than, Dear Sir, Yours affectionately

Mr. P. Carr

Th: Jefferson.

JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

Germantown, Nov. 10, 1793.

I wrote, my dear Martha, by last week's post to Mr. Randolph. Yesterday I received his of Oct. 31.

The fever in Philadelphia has almost entirely disappeared. The Physicians say they have no new infections since the great rains which have fallen. Some previous ones are still to die or recover, and so close this tragedy. I think however the Executive will remain here till the meeting of Congress, merely to furnish a rally point to them. The refugee inhabitants are very generally returning into the city. Mr. T. Shippen and his lady are here. He is very slowly getting better. Still confined to the house. She well & very burly. I told her of her sister's pretentions to the fever & ague at Blenheim. She complained of receiving no letter. Tell this to Mrs. Carter, making it the subject of a visit express, which will be an act of good neighbor.—The affairs of France are at present gloomy. Toulon has surrendered to England & Spain. So has Grandanse and the country round about in St. Domingo. The English however have received a check before Dunkirk, probably a smart one, tho' the particulars are not yet certainly known. I send Freneau's papers. He has discontinued them, but promises to resume again. I fear this cannot be till he has collected his arrearages. My best regards to Mr. Randolph. Accept my warmest love for yourself and Maria, compliments to Miss. Jane, kisses to the children, friendly affections to all. Adieu.

JEFFERSON'S DRAFT OF A REPLY TO TRUSTEES OF THE
SCHOOL AT GERMANTOWN.*

Gent.

The readiness with which the Trustees of the school of German. tender the buildings under their charge for the use of Congress, is a proof of their zeal for furthering the public good. and doubtless the other inhabitants actuated by the same motives will feel the same dispons. to accomodate if necessary those who assemble but for their service & that of their fellow citizens.

Where it may be best for Congress to remain will depend on circumstances which are daily unfolding themselves, & for the issue of which we can but offer up our prayers to the sovereign disposer of life & health.

His favor too on our endeavors, the good sense & firmness of our fellow citizens & fidelity in those they employ will secure to us a permanence of good government

*This is Jefferson's draft of reply to a letter received by the President from the Trustees of the school. The letter as it was sent follows showing that Jefferson or more likely the President added another paragraph.

WASHINGTON'S COMPLETED LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES.*

Gentlemen,

The readiness with which the Trustees of the Public School of Germantown tender the buildings under their charge, for the use of Congress, is a proof of their zeal for furthering the public good; and doubtless the Inhabitants of Germantown generally, actuated by the same motives, will feel the same dispositions to accomodate, if necessary, those who assemble but for their service & that of their fellow citizens.

Where it will be best for Congress to remain will depend on circumstances which are daily unfolding themselves, & for the issue of which, we can but offer up our prayers to the Sovereign Dispenser of life & health. His favor too on our endeavours—the good sense and firmness of our fellow citizens, & fidelity in

*At eleven o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, November 6th, the Trustees of the Public School of Germantown, now the Germantown Academy, with Henry Hill at their head, waited on the President and offered through him the use of their buildings as a meeting place for Congress. They presented him with an address to which the President later sent the reply given above. The question as to how much Washington was indebted to Hamilton and Jefferson in the preparation of state papers and letters is one that has been discussed at some length and with some degree of warmth by various biographers and historians.

those they employ, will secure to us a permanence of good government.

If I have been fortunate enough, during the vicissitudes of my life, so to have conducted myself, as to have merited your approbation, it is a source of much pleasure ; & should my future conduct merit a continuance of your good opinion, especially at a time when our country, & the city of Philadelphia in particular, is visited by so severe a calamity, it will add more than a little to my happiness.—

Go. Washington.

COMMISSION OF DAVID AUSTIN.

Germantown Novemr. 11. 1793.

Sir,

The President of the United States, desiring to avail the public of your services as Collector for the Port of New Haven, I have now the honor of inclosing you the Commission, and of expressing to you the Sentiments of perfect Esteem with which I am Sir,

Your most Obedt. &
most hum. sert.

Commission dated Nov. 11. 1793. Th : Jefferson
Mr. David Austin.

COMMISSION OF VINCENT GRAY.

Germantown Novemr. 11th. 1793.

Sir,

The President of the United States, desiring to avail the public of your services as Surveyor for the Port of Alexandria, I have now the honor of inclosing you the commission, and of expressing to you the sentiments of perfect esteem with which I am Sir,

Your most obedt. &

most hum. sert.

Commission dated 11. nov. 1793. Th : Jefferson
Mr. Vincent Gray.—

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

Germantown, Nov. 11. 1793.

Sir

The war at present prevailing among the European Powers producing sometimes captures of vessels in the neighbourhood of our sea coast and the law of nations admitting as a common convenience that every nation inhabiting the sea coast may extend its jurisdiction & protection some distance into the sea, the President has been frequently appealed to by the subjects of the belligerent Powers for the benefit of that protection. To what distance from the coast this may be extended is not precisely ascertained either by the practice or

consent of nations or the opinions of the jurists who have written on the subject. The greatest distance to which any respectable assent seems to have been given, is the extent of the human sight, estimated at something more than 20 miles. The least claimed by any nation is the utmost range of cannon shot, usually stated at one sea league, or three sea miles which is a very small portion less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ statute or american miles. Several intermediate distances have been insisted on under different circumstances, & that particularly of 3 sea leagues has the support of some authorities which are recent. However as the nations which practice navigation on our coast are interested in this question, it is thought prudent not to assume the whole distance which we may reasonably claim, until some opportunity shall occur of entering into friendly explanations and arrangements with them on the subject, but as in the mean time it is necessary to exercise the right to some distance, the President has thought it best, *so far as shall concern the exercise of the executive Powers*, to take the distance of a sea league, which being fitted by treaty between some of the belligerent Powers, and as little as any of them claim on their own coasts, can admit of no reasonable opposition on their part. The *executive officers* are therefore instructed to consider a margin of one sea league on our coast as that within which all hos-

tilities are interdicted for the present, until it shall be otherwise signified to them. The rivers and bays as being land locked, are of course by the law of nations, and I presume by the laws of most of the states, within the body of the United States, and under the same protection from hostilities.

As the question whether a capture has been made within these limits is a question of fact to be decided by witnesses, it becomes necessary to take measures for the examination of these witnesses in the different states where captures may happen, and the laws of the union having as yet made no provision for this purpose, the President considers the attornies of the several Districts as the persons the most capable of discharging the office with knowledge, with impartiality, and with that extreme discretion which is essential in all matters wherein foreign nations are concerned. I have the honor therefore, Sir, to inclose you a paper expressing the desire of the President on this subject—You will see by that that whenever a capture is suggested to have been made within the limits above mentioned, so far as they are within your state, the Governor to whom the first application will be made is desired to give you notice thereof, whereupon it is hoped you will proceed as the paper points out. The representatives here of the different Powers are informed of this ar-

rangement, and desired to instruct their consuls to facilitate the proceedings as far as shall depend on them; and it is unnecessary for me to suggest what your own judgment and disposition would dictate that the same object will be promoted by a certain degree of respect to which the Consuls are entitled, and a just and friendly attention to their convenience.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of respect
Sir,

Your most obedt. servt.

Th: Jefferson

TENCH COXE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mr. T. Coxe requests that Mr. Jefferson will do him the honor to inform him, whether it appears by the records of the Department of State that a commission, as *Inspector of the Revenue* for the port of Balte., has been transmitted to Danl. Delogier, lately appointed *Surveyor* of that port. Mr. Coxe can not find that such a commission has ever been recd. by the officer, or by the Treasury. In the confusion produced by the late malady in Philada. it is possible it may not have occurd. that two Commissions were necessary. The late Mr. Ballard held both, and it has been almost an universal course in the appointments to those two offices in the other ports.

Chestnut Street Novr. 11th. 1793.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Germantown, Nov. 13. 1793.

Sir

I am instructed by the President of the US. to forward to you the inclosed petition* from Ezra Fitz Freeman, on behalf of his son Clarkson Freeman, and to ask the favor of your information of the circumstances of the case of the sd. Clarkson Freeman therein referred to, & your opinion on the different considerations weighing for and against the pardon therein prayed for. I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir

Your most obedt.

& most humble servt.

To honble. Robert Morris Th : Jefferson
the District judge of the US. for N. Jersey.

JEFFERSON TO PATRICK KENNON.

Germantown, Nov. 13, 1793.

Sir

I have duly received your favor of Sept. 19. with the copy of your account shewing the amount of stock

*This was a petition from Clarkson Freeman, who had been imprisoned in New Jersey for aiding in counterfeiting public securities. He had fled to Canada and asked to be pardoned and allowed to return to his home. Judge Morris replied November 25th, representing Freeman's conduct in an unfavorable light.

which you hold for Mr. Short, as also a balance of 50.17 cash and a further sum of 100.83 the quarter's interest then due. finding that Mr. Short possesses stock in Richmond also, & concluding it best to bring the whole to Philadelphia, I have lodged in the Treasury office there the original power of attorney under which I act for Mr. Short,* & of which, for your justification, I send you a copy authenticated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and have now to ask the favor of you to apply to the office of the Commissioners of loans at New York, and to have the necessary acts done there and forwarded here, for transferring the said stock from the banks of that office to those of the general office here, with as little delay as possible, and to remit to me the two sums of cash above mentioned in safe paper, on the receipt of which I will send you a sufficient voucher.

I am with esteem Sir

Your most obedt. sert

Th : Jefferson.

Mr. Patrick Kennon. New York.

*William Short had been private secretary to Jefferson while the latter was minister to France. After Jefferson's return he had remained as chargé d' affaires, but later he had been appointed minister at The Hague.

JEFFERSON TO MR. HOPKINS.

Germantown, Nov. 13, 1793.

Sir

Your favor of the 15th of October with the statements of the different species of stock standing on the books of your office to the credit of William Short esquire, came to hand on the 24th of the same month, being the eve of my departure for this place. finding that Mr. Short has stock also at New York, I have thought it best to bring the whole to one place, & that, all circumstances considered, Philadelphia will be the best place of deposit. having therefore lodged in the Treasury office there the original power of attorney under which I act for Mr. Short, and of which, for your justification I send you a copy authenticated by the Secretary of the Treasury, I have now to ask the favor of you to do what is necessary & proper to be done on your part for transferring all Mr. Short's stock on your books to those of the Treasury at Philadelphia. should the certificates be in the hands of Mr. Brown, will you have the goodness to ask for them & to forward them or any other papers to me which may be necessary to complete the operation here with as little delay as possible? your attention herein will oblige Sir

Your most obedt. sert

Th : Jefferson.

Mr. Hopkins, Commr. of loans, Richmd.

JEFFERSON TO MR. HOMASSEL.

Germantown, Nov. 13, 1793.

Sir

Mr. DeVieux, my neighbor in Virginia having received information that some goods were sent for him from France to this port, authorised Mr. Vaughan to receive & sell them. he afterwards learnt they had been sent to you, and now understands they were sold by you. it is very important to him to receive the money, but more pressingly so to know the clear amount of the sales, that he may by that clear amount regulate his engagements. not knowing to what place Mr. Vaughan retired on the late disorder in Philadelphia, I ask the favor of you to enable me if you can to inform Mr. DeVieux of the nett amount of the whole sum which will be coming to him from the sale of the said goods.

I am sir

Your very humble sert

Th : Jefferson.

Mr. Homassel.

JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.*

Germantown Nov. 13. 1793.

Sir

In a letter which I had the honor of addressing you on the 19th of June last, I asked for information when we might expect an answer to that which I had written you on the 29th of May was twelvemonth, on the articles still unexecuted of the treaty of peace between the two nations.

In your answer of the next day, you were pleased to inform me that you had forwarded the letter of the 29th of May 1792. in the course of a few days after it's date, & that you daily expected instructions on the

*The answer to the above is as follows :

Lansdown, 22d November, 1793.

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 13th current, I have the honor of informing you, that I have not yet received such definite instructions, relative to your communication of the 29th of May, 1792, as will enable me immediately to renew the discussions upon the subject of it, which have been for some time suspended.

I can, however, repeat with confidence, my conviction, that the continuance of the cause, to which I alluded in my letter of the 20th of June last, and no other, has protracted this delay to the present period.

I have the honor to be,

With sentiments of great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

Geo : Hammond

subject ; that you presumed these had been delayed in consequence of the very interesting events which had occurred in Europe & which had been of a nature so pressing and important as probably to have attracted the whole attention of your ministers, & thus to have diverted it from objects more remote, & that might perhaps have been regarded as somewhat less urgent.

I have it again in charge from the President of the United States to ask whether we can now have an answer to the letter of May 29. before mentioned ?

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir

Your most obedient

& most humble servt

Th : Jefferson

The Minister Plenyp. of Gr. Britain.

JEFFERSON TO GOVERNOR MOULTRIE.*

Germantown Nov. 13. 1793.

Sir

In a letter of the 2d. instant which I have received from Mr. Genet, Minister Plenip. of the republic of France here, is the following paragraph.

“ I have received a charge against two persons of

*Governor William Moultrie of South Carolina.

the name of Bouteille and Carvin, as equipping at this time in Charleston a strong vessel, on which they are to embark a number of people whose object is to go & possess themselves of Turtle island, distant from the Cape seven leagues, and there to put to death all the French who shall remain faithful to their country. I pray you to be so good as to inform the Governor of Charleston of this accusation."

The same line of conduct being proper for us between parties of the same nation engaged in civil war, as between different nations at war with each other, I have it in charge from the President of the US. to draw your Excellency's attention to the information above stated, & to express his confidence that you will exert the powers with which you are invested to prevent every preparation of hostilities which shall be attempted to be made and carried on from any part of your state against countries or people with which we are at peace. and I will ask the favor of any information you may be able to give me of the fact above stated, and it's issue. I have the honor to be with great respect, your Excellency's

most obedt. & most humble sert

H.E. Governor Moultrie.

Th: Jefferson

JEFFERSON TO COLONEL ROBERT GAMBLE.*

Th : Jefferson presents his compliments to Colo. Gamble & takes the liberty of putting under cover to him a letter to Mr. Newbern† of Richmond, with a request to have it handed him if he arrived from London, or if not, to let it lie by, till his arrival. Th : J. thinks he must be arrived as he sailed from London Aug. 30. he has the pleasure to inform Colo. Gamble that after the great rains which fell the first three or four days of this month, not a single new infection of the yellow fever took place, that those then ill of it are either dead or recovered, and that there is the most respectable assurance that there is not at this time a single subject remaining under that disorder. the refugee inhabitants have been returning in to the city ever since the rain, without incurring any accident. some who had returned before the rains caught the disease. it is probable that in the course of this week or the next 99. out of 100. of those who had left the city, will be returned into it. as the members of Congress, coming from a distance, may be uninformed

*An answer to this letter will be found on a subsequent page.

Colonel Robert Gamble was a Revolutionary soldier who came originally from Staunton, Augusta County, and thus in a way a neighbor of Jefferson's. In 1793 he removed to Richmond and became a prominent merchant of that city. He was killed in 1810 by a fall from his horse.

†See the following letter.

of the real state of things, the President will probably remain here (tho' he has been into the city) to form a point of union for them to assemble at & decide on their own view of things.†

Germantown, Nov. 14, 1793.

JEFFERSON TO MR. NEWBERN,

Germantown near Philadelphia, Nov, 14, 1793.

Sir

Mr. Donald of London, in a letter of Aug. 30. informs me you had been so kind as to take charge of a telescope for me. not knowing whether you are yet arrived, and apprehending, if you were, that you might forward the glass on to this place, I take the liberty of lodging the present letter at Richmond, to desire you, instead of sending it on here to deliver it to Mr. Randolph my son in law whenever he may happen to be in Richmond, or to his order, any duty or other charge which may have been paid on it shall be thankfully repaid as soon as made known. returning you many thanks for the obliging office you have done, I remain with esteem Sir

Your most obedt. sert.

Mr. Newbern.

Th: Jefferson.

†The information contained in this letter was deemed of such public interest that it, except the first few lines, was printed in the *Virginia Chronicle* of November 30th, 1793.

JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM AST.

Germantown near Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1793.

Sir

Your favor of the 6th inst, conveys to me the first information of your establishment in this country, in which I wish you every success. with respect to the application you propose to Congress on the subject of insurances, I am not able to say what may be its effect. we are little habituated to these speculations here, & therefore the less likely to estimate their true value. instead however of asking a provisional decree, which is not consonant with our usage, I would advise you to propose, in your petition, the communication of your plan to such committee of their house as they shall appoint. these will of course be persons of confidence, & on their report the house will act. I would also recommend to you to have your petition drawn by some gentleman of the law, who is acquainted with our forms, since it is of considerable advantage to good ideas to be presented to those for whom they are intended in a dress to which they are accustomed. as I mean shortly to retire to Virginia and shall chiefly be connected with Richmond in such matters of business as a farmer may have, I shall hope an opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with you there, unless your movements should sooner lead you into the neighbor-

hood of Monticello, where I shall be very happy to see you; accept assurances of my attachment.

Th: Jefferson.

Mr. William Ast.

JEFFERSON TO PATRICK HART.

Germantown near Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1793.

Sir

Understanding that there was a box containing an Orrery for me at the Custom-house at the Hundred, I had asked the favor of Mr. David Randolph to take it out and pay the duty, which I suppose small, as the machine cost but about $2\frac{1}{2}$ guineas. he writes me word that before he received my letter, you had been so kind as to liberate it from the custom-house, with a view of sending it on to me. the object of this letter is to return you my thanks for this kind attention, and instead of forwarding it to me here, to ask you to be so good as to deliver it to Mr. Randolph my son in law, to be forwarded to my own house in Albemarle where I shall be within a few weeks. be pleased at the same time to let either him or me know what you have been so good as to pay on it, and it will be immediately replaced. with repeated thanks for the civility, I am with esteem, Sir

Your most obedt. sert

Mr. Patrick Hart.

Th: Jefferson.

JEFFERSON TO GIUSEPPE CERACCHI.*

Philadelphia, Nov. 14. 1793.

Dear Sir

I have received the favor of your letter of May 27. from Munich, & it was not till then that I knew to what place or through what channel to direct a letter to you. the assurances you received that the monument of the President would be ordered at the new election, were founded in the expectation that he meant then to retire. the turbid affairs of Europe however, & the intercessions they produced prevailed on him to act again, tho' with infinite reluctance. You are sensible that the moment of his retirement, kindling the enthusiasm for his character, the affections for his person, the recollection of his services, would be that moment in which such a tribute would naturally be resolved on. this of course is now put off the end of the next bissextile: but whenever it arrives, your title to the execution is engraved in the minds of those who saw your works here. your purpose with respect to my bust is certainly flattering to me. my family

*For an interesting account of the sculptor Ceracchi and his desire to execute a monument of Washington commemorative of the Revolution, see Randall's life of Jefferson, Vol. 11, page 199. The artist chiseled a magnificent bust of Jefferson, which was obtained by Congress, placed in its library and afterwards destroyed by the fire of 1851. Unfortunately there is no existing engraving or other reproduction of this beautiful bust.

has entered so earnestly into it that I must gratify them with the hope, and myself with the permission to make a just indemnification to the author. I shall be happy at all times to hear from you, and to learn that your successes in life are as great as they ought to be. accept assurances of my sincere respect & esteem.

Th: Jefferson

Mr. Ceracchi, at Munich.

JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

Germantown Nov. 14. 1793.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th. instant, on the subject of the British ship *Rochampton*, taken and sent into Baltimore by the French privateer the *Industry*, an armed schooner of St. Domingo, which is suggested to have augmented her force at Baltimore before the capture. On this circumstance a demand is grounded that the prize she has made shall be restored.

Before I proceed to the matters of fact in this case, I will take the liberty of calling your attention to the rules which are to govern it. These are——

1st. That restitution of prizes has been made by the Executive of the United States only in the two cases
1. of capture, within their Jurisdiction, by armed vessels

originally constituted such without the limits of the United States; or 2d. of capture, either within or without their jurisdiction, by armed vessels, originally constituted such within the limits of the United States, which last have been called proscribed vessels.

1 Ind. That all military equipments within the ports of the United States are forbidden to the vessels of the Belligerent powers, even where they have been constituted vessels of war before their arrival in our ports; and where such equipments have been made before detection, they are ordered to be suppressed when detected, and the vessel reduced to her original condition. But if they escape detection altogether, depart and make prizes, the Executive has not undertaken to restore the prizes.

With due care, it can scarcely happen that military equipments of any magnitude shall escape discovery. those which are small may sometimes, perhaps, escape, but to pursue these so far as to decide that the smallest circumstance of military equipment to a vessel in our ports shall invalidate her prizes through all time, would be a measure of incalculable consequences. And since our interference must be governed by some general rule, and between great and small equipments no practicable line of distinction can be drawn, it will be attended with less evil on the whole to rely on the

efficacy of the means of prevention, that they will reach with certainty equipments of any magnitude and the great mass of those of smaller importance also : and if some should in the event, escape all our vigilance, to consider these as of the number of cases which will at times baffle the restraints of the wisest and best guarded rules which human foresight ever devise. And I think we may safely rely that since the regulations which got into a course of execution about the middle of August last, it is scarcely possible that equipments of any importance should escape discovery.

These principles shewing that no demand of restitution lies on the ground of a mere military alteration or an augmentation of force, I will consider your letter only as a complaint that the orders of the President prohibiting these, have not had their effect in the case of the *Industry*, and inquire whether, if this be so, it has happened either from neglect or connivance in those charged with the execution of these orders. For this we must resort to facts which shall be taken from the evidence furnished by yourself, and the British vice Consul at Baltimore, and from that which shall accompany this letter.

About the beginning of August the *Industry* is said to have arrived at Baltimore with the French fleet from St. Domingo. the particular state of her arma-

ment on her arrival is lately questioned, but it is not questioned, that she was an armed vessel of some degree. The Executive having received an intimation that two vessels were equipping themselves at Baltimore for a cruize, a letter was on the 5th. of Augt. addressed by the Secretary of war to the Governor of Maryland, desiring an inquiry into the fact. In his absence, the Executive Council of Maryland charged one of their own Party, the honorable Mr. Killy, with the inquiry. He proceeded to Baltimore, and after two days examination found no vessels answering the description of those which were the objects of his inquiry. He then engaged the British Vice Consul in the search, who was not able, any more than himself to discover any such vessels. Captain Killy, however, observing a Schooner, which appeared to have been making some equipments for a cruize to have added to her guns, and made some alteration to her waist, thought these circumstances merited examination, though the rules of August had not yet appeared. Finding that his inquiries excited suspicion, and fearing the vessel might be withdrawn, he had her seized, and proceeded in the investigation. He found that she was the Schooner Industry, Captain Carver, from St. Domingo, that she had been an armed vessel for three years before her coming here, and as late as

April last had mounted 16 Guns, that she now mounted only 12. and he could not learn that she had procured any of these or done any thing else, essential to her as a prisoner, at Baltimore. He therefore discharged her, and on the 23d. of August, the Executive Council made the report to the Secretary at war, of which I enclose you a copy.

About a fortnight after this (Sep. 6.) you added to a letter on other business a short paragraph saying that you had lately received information that a vessel named the *Industry* had within the last 5 or 6 weeks been armed, manned, and equipped in the port of Baltimore. The proceedings before mentioned having been in another department, were not then known to me. I therefore could only communicate this paragraph to the proper Department. The separation of the Executive within a week after prevented any explanations on the subject ; and without them it was not in my power either to controvert or admit the information you had received. Under these circumstances I think you must be sensible, Sir, that your conclusions from my silence, that I regarded the fact as proved, was not a very necessary one.

New inquiries, at that time, could not have prevented the departure of the privateer, or the capture of the *Rochampton* ; for the privateer had then been out

some time. the Rochampton was already taken and was arriving at Baltimore; which she did about the day of the date of your letter. after her arrival, new witnesses had come forward to prove that the Industry had made some military equipments at Baltimore before her cruise. the affidavits taken by the British Vice Consul are dated about 9 or 10 days after the date of your letter and arrival of the Roechampton: and we have only to lament that those witnesses had not given their information to the Vice Consul when Mr. Killy engaged his aid in the inquiries he was making, and when it would have had the effect of our detaining the privateer till she should have reduced herself to the condition in which she was when she arrived in our ports, if she had really added any thing to her then force. But supposing the testimony just and full (tho' taken *ex parte*, and not under the legal sanction of an oath) yet the Governor's refusal to restore the prize, was perfectly proper, for, as has been before observed, restitution has never been made by the Executive, nor can be made on a mere clandestine alteration or augmentation of military equipment, which was all that the new testimony tended to prove.

Notwithstanding, however that the President thought the information obtained on a former occasion had cleared this privateer from any well grounded cause

of arrest, yet that which you have now offered opens a possibility that the former was defective. He has therefore desired new inquiry to be made before a magistrate legally authorized to administer an Oath, and indifferent to both parties, and should the result be that the vessel did really make any military equipments in our ports, instructions will be given to reduce her to her original conditions, whenever she shall again come into our ports.

On the whole, Sir, I hope you will perceive that on the first intimation, thro' their own channels, and without waiting for information on your part, that a vessel was making military equipments at Baltimore, the Executive took the best measures for inquiring into the fact in order to prevent or suppress such equipments. that an officer of high respectability was charged with the inquiry and that he made it with great diligence himself, and engaged similar inquiries on the part of your Vice Consul, that neither of them could find that this privateer had made any such equipments, or of course that there was any ground for reducing or detaining her ; that at the date of your letter of Sep. 6 (the first intimation recd. from you) the Privateer was departed, had taken her prize, and that prize was arriving in port, that the new evidence taken 10 days after that arrival can produce no other effect than

the institution of a new inquiry, and a reduction of the force of the privateer, should she appear to have made any military alterations or augmentations, on her return into our ports, and that in no part of this procedure is there the smallest ground for imparting either negligence or connivance to any of the officers who have acted in it.

I have the honor to be, with much respect

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

Th: Jefferson

Minister plenipo. of Great Britian.

JEFFERSON TO DAVID HOWELL.

Germantown, Nov. 14, 1793.

Dear Sir

I have duly received your two favors of Octob. 3. & 4. with that signed by Messrs. Brown & others.* I have communicated the contents to the President, and added my own testimony, derived from former acquaintance, to the recommendations of those gentle-

*A petition from John Brown and other citizens, recommending the appointment of David Howell as District Attorney for Rhode Island as successor to William Channing.

men. no appointment is as yet made, and the President is absent on a short tour. In this as in every other pursuit, I sincerely wish you success, and shall be greeted with the tidings of it in the retirement into which I mean to withdraw at the close of the present year. it will be the second time my bark will have put into port with a design not to venture out again; & I trust it will be the last. my farm, my family & my books call me to them irresistably. I do not know whether you are a farmer, but I know you love your family & your books, and will therefore bear witness to the strength of their attractions. accept assurances of my constant esteem & respect.

Th : Jefferson.

David Howell esq. Providence.

JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM RAWLE.

Germantown Nov. 15. 1793.

Sir,

You will doubtless recollect the case of the British ship William, taken by the Privateer Citoyen Genet, before the 5th. of June and within the limits of our Jurisdiction, as was alleged. On this allegation she was libelled in the district Court of Pennsylvania, and discharged by the Judge on the ground of incompetence of Jurisdiction. It then became the duty of the Ex-

ecutive to interfere. The British Minister exhibited affidavits taken *ex parte* which gave reason to believe that the capture was made within our jurisdiction, and the french Minister was desired to shew cause against it, the vessel being in the mean time put into the Hands of the French Consul, in an assurance that she should be forth coming to answer the determination of the President. The French Minister has now given in contrary evidence, but taken *ex parte* also. The limits of Jurisdiction having been provisionally settled for Executive cases, and the mode of taking regular testimony, as stated in the letter I had the honor of writing you on the 10th. instant, I have now to ask the favor of you to proceed with respect to the ship William according to what was provided in that letter for such cases generally. By a letter of the present date I notify the two Ministers of the reference now made to you, relying that they will instruct their Consuls to pay requisite attention to it.

I have the honor to be with great esteem

Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant

Wm. Rawle Esq.

Th : Jefferson

Attorney of the U. S. for the district of

Penna.

JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

Germantown Nov. 15. 1793.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the district Attorney of Pennsylvania is this day instructed to take measures for finally settling the cases of the British Ship William captured by the French privateer the Citoyen Genet, and reclaimed (?) as taken within the Jurisdiction of the United States, in which he will proceed as I had the honor of stating to you in my letter of Nov. 10.

I have the honor of being with respect & esteem Sir,

Your most obdt.

mo. humble servant

Th: Jefferson

The Minister plenip. of Gt. Britain.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND C. GENET.

Th: Jefferson with his respectful compliments to Mr. Genet has the honor to inform him that his letter of the 3d. inst. on the subject of an advance of money, came to hand on the day the President had set out on a journey to Reading. that of yesterday, on the same subject, is received this day. both shall be laid before him on his return.

Nov. 15. 1793. Germantown.

JEFFERSON TO GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

Th: Jefferson, with his respect to Genl Knox, has the honor to inclose for his examination & amendmt. a letter to Mr Hammond on the subject of the Rochampton, which has already been examined & approved by the Secy. of the Treasury & Atty. Genl. should Genl. Knox propose no amendment, Th: J. will be obliged to him to stick a wafer in the cover, & send it on to the post office. should he think it of any consequence to send a copy to Govr. T. Lee, in order to explain to him & the council the reason of the new enquiries to be made into the condition of the Industry, Genl. Knox's clerk shall have the press copy retained here, to take a copy from.

Nov. 15. 1793.

After writing the above & inclosing the letter to Mr. H. it was recollected that Genl. Knox was to set out this day Friday for Trenton. this note was therefore opened & the letter sent to Mr. Hammond, to avoid the delay which would be occasioned [the rest of the manuscript is torn off.]

JEFFERSON TO WASHINGTON.

Th: Jefferson with his respects to the President has the honor to inclose for his information the follow-

ing letters written in consequence of the last consultation preceding his departure. there being quadruplicates of most of them, the trouble of looking over them will be proportionably diminished to the President. Nov. 8. four letters to the foreign ministers on the extent of our jurisdiction.

10. Circular to the district-attornies on the *same* subject and on the mode of settling the cases which arise.

do. four letters to the foreign ministers on the mode of settling the cases which arise of captures within our jurisdiction

*do. to Messrs. Viar & Jaudenes, covering answer of Govr. of Kentucky as to military enterprises projected there, & the information of the Govr. of N. Carolina as to the Spanish prize carried in there.

× 13. to Mr. Hammond on the inexecution of the treaty.

× to Govr Moultrie. on Mr. Genet's suggestion of military enterprises projected

* to Judge Morris, inclosing Fitz Freeman's petition.

14. to Mr. Hammond on the Rochampton & Industry.

to the District Atty. of Maryland on the
brig Coningham.

to do. on the condemnation of the Rochamp-
ton & Pilgrim by the Fr. Consul.

15. to do. of Pennsylv. on the Ship William.

to Mr. Genet. on same subject

to Mr. Hammond on same subject.

* these are subjects not referred to our consultations.

× these were in consequence of determination at our
consultations, but the letters, being in plain
cases, were not communicated for inspection
to the other gentlemen, after they were
written.

there are some other letters agreed on, but not yet
copied.

JEFFERSON TO ELI WHITNEY.*

Germantown, Nov. 16, 1793.

Sir,—Your favor of Oct. 15 inclosing a drawing of your cotton gin, was received on the 6th inst. The only requisite of the law now uncomplied with is the forwarding a model, which being received your patent may be made out & delivered to your order immediately.

As the state of Virginia, of which I am, carries on household manufactures of cotton to a great extent, as I also do myself, and one of our great embarrassments is the clearing the cotton of the seed, I feel a

*Jefferson is universally recognized as the father of the patent system of the United States, and this letter, together with the reply of Whitney given on a later page, is of unusual interest.

The original act creating what is now the Patent Office provided that the Secretary of State, the Secretary at War and the Attorney General should constitute a board to pass upon the invention and issue the patent. This no doubt proved a cumbersome arrangement for in February 1793, a new law was enacted giving the power of issuing patents to the Secretary of State alone, who submitted the papers when they were prepared to the Attorney General. If he found them conformable to the law, he returned the patent to the Secretary of State, who presented the document to the President for his signature, and afterwards affixed the official seal. The inventor was required to produce a model provided the Secretary asked for it. As will be seen, Jefferson did ask for the model of the cotton gin. This patent was issued to Whitney, March 14th, 1794. During the year 1793 twenty patents had been issued.

considerable interest in the success of your invention, for family use. Permit me therefore to ask information from you on these points. Has the machine been thoroughly tried in the ginning of cotton, or is it as yet but a machine of theory? What quantity of cotton has it cleaned on an average of several days, & worked by hand, & by how many hands? What will be the cost of one of them made to be worked by hand? Favorable answers to these questions would induce me to engage one of them to be forwarded to Richmond for me. Wishing to hear from you on the subject I am &c.

P. S. Is this the machine advertised the last year by Pearce at the Patterson manufactory?

JEFFERSON TO GEORGE TAYLOR.

Th : Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Taylor. thinking it possible that the members of Congress, retaining the horrors of the yellow fever which prevail at a distance, may remove to Lancaster, & on so short notice as to prevent Th : J. from settling his affairs in Philadelphia, to which place he should not return again, Lancaster being so far on his way home, he thinks it best to do that while he has time, & for that purpose it would be convenient for

him to command his salary of the present quarter. as the rules of the bank require an endorser he begs the favor of Mr. Taylor to endorse the inclosed note for him, and to put it under cover to Mr. Kean, with the note directed to him, & to send it to him immediately.

Th : J. had received Mr. Wythe's money, on which fund he will furnish office expenses here.*

Germantown Nov. 16, 1793.

Nov. 18, 1793.

Sixty days after date

I promise to pay to George Taylor or order eight hundred & seventy five dollars† at the bank of the United States for value received

Th : Jefferson.

*For a list of the expenses in Germantown see the extracts from Jefferson's financial diary given on a later page.

†The salary of the Secretary of State at this time was \$3500.00 per annum, the amount stated in the note would therefore be payment for the last three months of Jefferson's term of service as he retired December 31st.

JEFFERSON TO JOHN KEAN*

Th : Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Kean & congratulates him sincerely on his and Mrs. Kean's having escaped the dangers of the season.

Thinking it possible that the members of Congress (retaining the horrors of the yellow fever which prevail at a distance) may remove to Lancaster, & on so short notice as to prevent Th : J. from settling his affairs in Philadelphia, he thinks it best to do that while he has time, & for that purpose it would be convenient for him to command his salary of the present quarter. he therefore begs the favor of Mr. Kean to put the note which accompanies this note into the proper channel for discount ; and if he will be so kind, when it is decided on, as to send a line of information for Th : J. to his office on Market street he will be much obliged to him.

Will the form of this note render an order from Mr. Taylor requisite to authorize Th : J. to receive the money ?

Germantown Nov. 16. 1793.

*From the original letter in the Lenox Library, New York city.
John Kean was cashier of the Bank of the United States.

JEFFERSON TO HERMAN LE ROY*

Germantown Nov. 17. 1793.

Dear Sir

I have duly received your favor of the 13th and learn from it a very different state of things from what either my son in law or myself were apprized of. however, tho' the debt be much greater than I had understood, the coupling of Dover in the mortgage is a more than proportionate increase of the security. all I have therefore to wish at present is that the proceeds of the protested bill may be first applied in diminution of the debt, and Dover be applied before

*From the original in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The letter is addressed to Mr. Herman Le Roy, New York, and is indorsed "Thomas Jefferson. Dated 17 Novem'r. Receiv'd 22 do. Ans'd 26 do."

Herman Le Roy was the founder of the once noted New York house of Le Roy, Bayard & Co. He was the Consular Agent for the Netherlands for New York and New Jersey from 1789 to 1795. His daughter, Caroline, was the second wife of Daniel Webster.

This letter relates to a loan obtained in 1790 from Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorst, bankers of Amsterdam, to whom Jefferson wrote February 28, 1790, stating the need of funds to develop his farms, offering them his bond for the loan and to pay interest at 6%. Le Roy and Bayard in New York City, apparently had charge of the matter and the correspondence with them reveals the fact that as late as 1823 money was still due to the Van Staphorsts and the presumption is it was this debt.

Varina* be called on, in which case the latter will be safe, as Dover will sell for the double of the residue of the debt, after the proceeds of the protested bill shall have been applied to it's diminution. in the mean time I advise my son in law to consign his wheat to you, and to proceed in providing all the monies he can in your hands, to remain there as his separate property, subject to be hereafter declared by him to have been a payment at the time in exoneration of Varina specially, or to any other order of his. this appears to me his safest course, relying at the same time on your indulgence by directing your agent to draw his payment from the protested bill & Dover as far as they will go, & before he proceeds to levy them on Varina. I am with great regard and with my most friendly respects to mr. Bayard, Dear Sir

Your most obedt sevt

Mr. Le Roy.

Th : Jefferson

*Varina was an extensive plantation belonging to Thomas Mann Randolph, located a few miles below Richmond.

JEFFERSON TO JAMES MADISON.

Germantown, Nov. 17, 1793.

Dear Sir,—I have got good lodgings for Monroe & yourself, that is to say, a good room with a fire-place & two beds, in a pleasant & convenient position, with a quiet family. They will breakfast you, but you must mess in a tavern; there is a good one across the street. This is the way in which all must do, and all I think will not be able to get even half beds. The President will remain here I believe till the meeting of Congress, merely to form a point of union for them before they can have acquired information & courage. For at present there does not exist a single subject in the disorder, no new infection having taken place since the great rains the 1st of the month, & those before infected being dead or recovered. There is no doubt you will sit in Philadelphia, & therefore I have not given Monroe's letter to Sechel. I do not write to him, because I know not whether he is at present moving by sea or by land, & if by the latter, I presume you can communicate to him.—Wayne has had a convoy of 22. wagons of provisions, and 70. men cut off 15. miles in his rear by the Indians. 6. of the men were found on the spot scalped, the rest supposed taken. He had nearly reached Fort Hamilton. R. has given notice that he means to resign. Genet by



Dear Sir

Germantown Nov. 17. 1793.

I have duly received your favor of the 13th. and learn from it a very different state of things from what either my son in law or myself were apprised of. However, tho' the debt be much greater than I had understood, the coupling of Dover in the mortgage is a more than proportionate increase of the security. all I have therefore to wish at present is that the proceeds of the protested bill may be first applied in diminution of the debt, and Dover be applied before Varina be called on, in which case the latter will be safe, as Dover will sell for the double of the residue of the debt, after the proceeds of the protested bill shall have been applied to it's diminution. In the mean time I advise my son in law to consign his chest to you and to proceed in providing all the monies he can in your hands, to remain there as his separate property, subject to be hereafter declared by him to have been a payment at the time in exoneration of Varina specially, or to any other order of his. This appears to me his safest course, relying at the same time on your indulgence by directing your agent to draw his payments from the protested bill & Dover as far as they will go, & before he proceeds, to pay them on Varina. I am with great regard and with my most friendly respects to Mr Bayard, Dear Sir

Your most obed^t serv^t

Th^{os} Jefferson

Mr. Le Roy.

Facsimile of Jefferson's Letter to Herman Le Roy.

Original in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

more & more denials of powers to the President and ascribing them to Congress, is evidently endeavoring to sow tares between them, & at any event to curry favor with the latter to whom he means to turn his appeal, finding it was not likely to be well received with the people. Accept both of you my sincere affection.

JEFFERSON TO MISS MARIA JEFFERSON.

Germantown, Nov. 17, 1793.

No letter yet from my dear Maria, who is so fond of writing, so punctual in her correspondencies ! I enjoin as a penalty that the next must be written in French.—now for news. the fever is entirely vanished from Philadelphia. not a single person has taken infection since the great rains about the 1st of the month, & those who had it before are either dead or recovered. all the inhabitants who had fled are returning into the city, probably will all be returned in the course of the ensuing week. the President has been into the city, but will probably remain here till the meeting of Congress to form a point of union for them before they will have had time to gather knowledge and courage. I have not yet been in, not because there is a shadow

of danger but because I am afoot.—Thomas* is returned into my service. His wife and child went into town the day we left them. they then had the infection of the yellow fever, were taken two or three days after, and both died. had we staid those two or three days longer, they would have been taken at our house. I have heard nothing of Miss Cropper. her trunk remains at our house. Mrs. Fullerton left Philadelphia. Mr. & Mrs. Rittenhouse remained there but have escaped the fever.—follow closely your music, reading, sewing, house-keeping, and love me as I do you,

most affectionately,

Th : Jefferson.

Tell Mr. Randolph that General Wayne has a convoy of 22. waggons of provisions & 70 men cut off in his rear by the Indians.

Miss Maria Jefferson.

*Thomas Lapsley designated as “the office keeper.”

JEFFERSON TO GEORGE TAYLOR.*

Notes for Mr. Taylor. Nov. 18. 1793.

Mr. Chapman to be engaged, by the day, letting him know that the job will probably be only of from 2. to 4. weeks.

some one to come here immediately. it may be any one of the gentlemen who would rather be here than in Philadelphia ; or if none of them would prefer it, it may be Mr. Chapman or any other hired person.

Mr. Taylor will be pleased to undertake the translating all the French letters of Mr. Genet which made part of the Appendix to the letter to G. Morris, sending me every afternoon his rough translations of the preceding 24. hours, which I will examine & return to him to be fair copied, unless we should have time to copy them here. I have the originals here to examine them by.

it is extremely desireable that the recording my letters could go on constantly, because they must be brought up to the last day of December next by that

*Chief Clerk of the Department of State.

day, and we cannot work double-handed on that. the gentleman hitherto employed in that (I believe it was Mr. Barbour.) should resume it, & not be called off for any thing else.

three others must be immediately set to work on the letters & Appendix to Mr. Hammond. consequently there is a necessity to engage another besides Mr. Chapman, and even two if it can be done, if one of them should understand French well, it would be a favorable circumstance.

This done, the instructions to Carmichael & Short* will be to be copied twice, & all before Congress meets.

the person who comes here must bring a provision of copying paper and letter paper. the quality of the last sent me is excellent, but it must be cut down to the regular office size. I send a sample of the paper. the size-board is in the office.

800. sea letters to be printed & sent here.

the office to be whitewashed in the course of this week.

*Commissioners of the United States at Madrid.

Send me by the return of the rider the date of Fulwar Skipwith's appointment to the Consulship of Martinique.

Th : J.

GEORGE TAYLOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON,

G. Taylor Jr. presents his respectful compliments to the Secy. of State—Has the honor to inform him that agreeably to his note of to day he has engaged Mr. Chapman, who cannot conveniently leave the City. That he has examined the letters and reports yet to be recorded, and finds that they will each require one person to be employed at least to the last of December next That Mr. Bankson has resumed the former and Mr. Blackwell who arrived here on Saturday is engaged at the latter and is now upon the long letter to Mr. Hammond—The documents to which G. T. purposes giving to Mr. Chapman to morrow. The Dr. is now employed copying the letter to Messrs. Short & Carmichael—That a Mr. Jonathan Smith, who can be recommended by Mr. Kean Cashier of the Bank of the US. but at any rate will engage temporarily only having applied for a berth in the Treasury, will in case the Secretary of State should think proper to employ him, go out to morrow. That should the Secy. think it expedient to take Mr. Blackwell off the

reports for the present he has not the least objection to go to Germantown. That the office is nearly all cleansed. That the only Credences or powers of Mr. Genet (3 in number) in his possession are herewith sent. None of them seem to give to him those of Consul General. That the date of Fulwar Skipwith's Commission as Consul at Martinique is the 7. June 1790. That G. T. has not been able to translate any of the documents to day, but will begin on them to-night.—

Mr. Bankson wishes to have the Secy. of States letters for July last. please excuse haste as the rider is waiting

Phila. 18. Nov. 1793

JEFFERSON TO JOHN ROSS.*

Germantown Nov. 19. 1793

Dear Sir

I sincerely congratulate you on your resurrection, on the faith of the newspapers I really lamented you

*John Ross was a prominent merchant of Philadelphia and a director of one of the banks. Jefferson had arranged the loan with him some two months previously as will be shown by the following letter dated September 13, 1793 :

Dear Sir,—As all the world is flying, I think to fly too in two or three days, but I am *money-bound*. I shall have 215. dollars free

dead for several days. I hope Mrs. Ross & all your family have enjoyed good health during the afflictions of the city.

Not knowing what date was inserted in my note for the 100. D. you were so kind as to give me for it, nor where to seek the note, as nobody has come to seek me about it, I enclose you a check for the sum on the bank of the US. with many thanks for the friendly accommodation. with my best respects to yourself & Mrs. Ross I am Dear Sir

Your friend & sert

Th: Jefferson

John Ross esq.

out of moneys to be received for me at the Treasury between two and three weeks hence. But, to pay some matters to people in want, and to carry me home also I have occasion for 100. Doll. more. Having never had any money connection at Philadelphia, I take the liberty of applying to you rather than to any other person, to enable me to receive immediately the amount of the enclosed order on mr. Bankson (one of my clerks who is to receive the money at the treasury for me) and of my own note for 100 D. which I cannot get by discount from the bank till Wednesday next, and my wish is to go on Sunday or Monday. I expect to be absent 7. weeks, but for fear any accident might delay me a few days, I have left the date of my note blank to be filled on the day it shall be lodged in the bank, that I may be the less hurried by this circumstance in my return. I will assuredly see that it be taken up in time. If you can, for this paper, furnish me a check on the bank or its amount otherwise, you will enable my wheels to get into motion, which otherwise stand still. I have the honor to be with great esteem and respect, dear sir, your most obedient servant.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND C. GENET

Th: Jefferson has the honor to present his respects to Mr. Genet & to acknowledge the receipt at the hands of a Courier, of his letter of Nov. 12. and two others of Nov. 16. which shall be immediately communicated to the President.

Germantown Nov. 19, 1793.

JEFFERSON TO MR. SODERSTROM.

Germantown Nov. 20. 1793.

Sir

I received last night your favor of the 16th No particular rules have been established by the President for the conduct of Consuls with respect to prizes. in one particular case, where a prize is brought into our ports by any of the *belligerent* parties, and is reclaimed of the Executive, the President has hitherto permitted the Consul of the Captor to hold the prize until his determination is known. but in all cases respecting a neutral nation, their vessels are placed exactly on the same footing with our own, entitled to the same remedy from our courts of justice & the same protection from the Executive, as our own vessels in the same situation. the remedy in the courts of justice, the only one which they or our own have access to, is slower than where it lies with the Executive, but it is more

complete, as damages can be given by the court, but not by the Executive.

The President will gladly avail himself of any information you can at any time give him where his interference may be useful to the vessels or subjects of his Danish Majesty, the desire of the US. being to extend to the vessels & subjects of that crown, as well as to those of his Swedish majesty the same protection as is given to those of our own citizens.

I have the honor to be with much respect Sir

Your most obedt. sert.

Mr. Soderstrom Consul of Sweden. Th: Jefferson

ROBERT GAMBLE TO JEFFERSON.

Richmond, Novemr. 21. 1793

Sir

I have your favor of the 14th. covering a letter to Mr. Newburn. Which is delivered him to night— (he is returned some weeks past)—

It is with great pleasure I hear from you. That the dreadful disease which raged in Philadelphia has subsided,—I wish the President may not, have risked too much, by going to the City so soon.—Melancholly would public affairs appear to our Citizens, at this important Crisis ; should he be taken from the Helm of Government—. Shall we have no hopes of your con-

tinuing in office? Many of your friends yet flatter themselves you will at last postpone your resignation.

Since the day after I came to Richmond* I have been confined to my Room & Bed by sickness—And now Just able to sit up.—This, to a poor *country-born merchant* is a great difficulty, at this particular season of the year.—however, I trust that I feel gratitude to God. That I am in a fair prospect of recovery.—

I have the pleasure to inform you this. The Honble John Brown is recovered from his sickness on Staunton & will be able to attend Congress early in the session—

The fellow who brought your wine (in cases) from Baltimore having been pd. the freight *there*.—did not call on my young man here.—And therefore stored them at Rockets. I believe all is safe.—I understand you have more goods with the same People (Hague & Liester)—And now as I hope to be able in a few days to attend to business—I will select some Careful Waggoner. by whom I can forward the Wine &c.. either to Monticello or Colo Betts at Charlottesville safe.

I am with sentiments of esteem

and respect. your Mo. ob. H. sert

Rt. Gamble

*Colonel Robert Gamble was a native of Staunton, Va., and had but recently removed to Richmond.

JEFFERSON TO JACOB HOLLINGSWORTH.*

Germantown, near Philadelphia, Nov. 22, 1793.
Sir

When I passed your house last, you told me you thought there would be to be bought there red clover seed, fresh and cheap. I take the liberty to enclose you a twenty dollar bill & to beg the favor of you to lay it out for me in as much fresh clover seed as it will buy, and to give the seed in charge to the overseer whom you shall be so good as to employ for me. to be carried on with him. Not having yet heard from you on that subject I am apprehensive you have found more difficulty than you expected, lest the terms should have escaped our memory I was to give Saml. Biddle 120. dollars a year, & 5 or 600 lbs. of fresh pork. when he arrived there, as it had been too far to carry heavy things, & to save him the expense of buying, I had made for him a half a dozen chairs, table, bedstead & such other things as my own workmen could make. he carried his own bedding & small conveniences. this is sufficient to serve as a guide with the person now to be employed. I am with esteem Sir

Your most obedt. sert

Th: Jefferson.

Mr. Jacob Hollingsworth.

*He resided near the Head of Elk on the road from Baltimore to Philadelphia.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND GENET.

Germantown Nov. 22. 1793.

Sir

In my letter of Oct. 2. I took the liberty of noticing to you that the commission of Consul to M. Dannery ought to have been addressed to the President of the US. he being the only channel of communication between this country and foreign nations or their agents are to learn what is or has been the will of the nation, and whatever he communicates as such they have a right and are bound to consider as the expression of the nation, and no foreign agent can be allowed to question it, to interpose between him & any other branch of government under the pretext of either's transgressing their functions, nor to make himself the umpire and final judge between them. I am therefore, Sir, not authorized to enter into any discussions with you on the meaning of our constitution in any part of it, or to prove to you that it has ascribed to him alone the admission or interdiction of foreign agents. I inform you of the fact by authority from the President. I had observed to you that we were persuaded that in the case of the Consul Dannery, the error in the address had proceeded from no intention in the Executive Council of France to question the functions of the President, and therefore no diffi-

culty was made in issuing the commission. we are still under the same persuasion. but in your letter of the 14th inst. you *personally* question the authority of the President, and in consequence of that have not addressed to him the commission of Messrs. Pennevert & Chervi. making a point of this formality on your part, it becomes necessary to make a point of it on ours also ; & I am therefore charged to return you those commissions, and to inform you that, bound to enforce respect to the order of things established by our constitution, the President will issue no Exequater to any Consul or Vice Consul not directed to him in the usual form after the party from whom it comes has been apprized that such should be the address.

I have the honor to be with respect Sir

Your most obdt.

& most humble sert.

Th : Jefferson

Mr. Genet.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND GENET.

Germantown Nov. 22, 1793.

Sir

Immediately on the receipt of your favor of the 2d. inst. informing me of a conspiracy among the refugees from the French colonies now at Charleston,

to undertake an expedition from there against the said colonies, I communicated the information to the Governor of S. Carolina with a desire that he would prevent every enterprize of that nature.

The other matters contained in the same letter belong of course to the ordinary cognizance of the Judiciary, which is open to the parties interested without any interposition of the Executive.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir

Your most obedt.

& most humble sert

The Min. Plen. of France.

Th: Jefferson

JEFFERSON TO ROBERT SCOTT.

Germantown Nov. 23. 1793.

Sir,

The President of the United States desiring to avail the Public of your Services as Engraver for the Mint,* I have now the honor of enclosing you the Commission, and of expressing to you the sentiments [of] perfect respect with which,

I am, Sir,

Your mo. obedient and

most humble servant,

Robert Scott.

Th: Jefferson

*Robert Scott continued engraver of the Mint for many years.

THE GERMANTOWN LETTERS 111

JEFFERSON TO GENET.

Germantown, November 24th, 1793.

Sir :

I have laid before the President of the United States your two letters of the 11th and 14th instant, on the subject of new advances of money, and they were immediately referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, within whose department subjects of this nature lie. I have now the honor of inclosing you a copy of his report thereon to the President in answer to your letters, and of adding assurances of respect and esteem of, Sir, &c.

ELI WHITNEY TO JEFFERSON.*

The Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Secretary of State
for the United States.

New Haven, Nov. 24th, 1793.

Respected Sir, I received your favor of the 16th inst. yesterday, and with pleasure take the earliest opportunity to answer your enquiries concerning my machine for cleaning cotton.

It is about a year since I first turned my attention to constructing this machine, at which time I was in

*Published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. 1, Page 47.

the State of Georgia. Within about ten days after my first conception of the plan, I made a small, though imperfect model. Experiments with this encouraged me to make one on a larger scale. But the extreme difficulty of procuring workmen and proper materials in Georgia, prevented my completing the larger one, until some time in April last. This though much larger than my first attempt, is not above one third so large as the machines may be made with convenience. The cylinder is only two feet, two inches in length and six inches diameter. It is turned by hand and requires the strength of one man to keep it in constant motion. It is the stated task of one negro to clean 50 wt (I mean fifty pounds after it is separated from the seed) of the green cotton pr day. This task he usually completes by one o'clock in the afternoon. He is paid so much per lb. for all he cleans over and above his task, and for ten or fifteen days successively he has cleared from sixty to eighty wt pr day and left work every day before sunset. The machine cleaned fifteen hundred weight in about four weeks, which cotton was examined in N. York, the quality declared good and sold in market at the highest price.

I have, Sir, been thus particular in relating the experience I have had of the performance of this

machine, and that you may be better able to judge of its utility and success.

I have not had much experience in cleaning the black seed cotton. I only know that it will clean this kind considerably faster than it will the green seeded, but how much I cannot say.

After the workmen are acquainted with the business, I should judge, the *real* expense of one which will clean a hundred wt pr day, would not exceed the price of ten of those in common use.

I shall have another person concerned with me in carrying on the business after the patent is obtained.* We have not yet determined at what price we shall sell the machines, it will, however, be so low as to induce the purchaser to give them a preference to any other.

We are now erecting one on a large scale, to be turned by horses, for our own use, and I do not think it will be in our power to make any for sale this winter.

This, Sir, is not the machine advertised by Pearce at the Patterson Manufactory. I never saw a machine of any kind whatever for ginning cotton, until several

*Phineas Miller, a native of Connecticut.

months after I invented this for which I have applied for a patent. Some time last spring, I saw it mentioned in a Savannah news-paper that Mr. Pearce of New Jersey had invented a machine for ginning cotton, but there was no mention made of the construction. I have since understood that his improvement was only a multiplication of the small rollers used in the common gins. This is every thing I know concerning the machine to which I suppose you allude in your postscript.

I think the machine is well calculated for family use. It may be made on a very small scale and yet perform in proportion to its size, I believe one might be made within the compass of two cubic feet, that would cleanse all the cotton which any one family manufactures for its own use. The machine itself does considerable towards carding the cotton, and I have no doubt but by leaving out the clearer and adding three or four cylinders covered with card-teeth, it would deliver cotton completely prepared for spinning. You will be able to form a more perfect idea of the machine from the model, which will be so complete as to perform the operation of separating the cotton from the seed.

It is my intention to come to Philadelphia within a few weeks and bring the model myself, but pe(rhaps)

it will not be in my power, in which case I s(hall) send forward the model with an order for the patent.

I am, respected Sir, your humbl servt

Eli Whitney

The Hon. Thos. Jefferson, Esq.

JEFFERSON TO ARCHIBALD STUART.*

Germantown, Nov. 24, 1793.

Dear Sir,—When I had the pleasure of seeing you at Monticello you mentioned to me that sheep could be procured at or about Staunton, good & cheap, and were kind enough to offer your aid in procuring them. Reflecting on this subject, I find it will be much better to buy & drive them now, before they have young ones, & before the snow sets in, than to wait till the spring. I therefore take the liberty of enclosing you a 40. Doll. bank post note, which I will beg the favor of you to lay out for me in sheep, taking time between the purchase & delivery, to give notice to Mr. Randolph at Monticello to have them sent for, the letter to be directed to him, or in his absence to Samuel Biddle overseer at Monticello. Your endorsement on the post note will transfer & make it payable to bearer,

*Original in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

and consequently will be cash to anybody at Staunton or Richmond who wishes to remit to Philadelphia ; or the custom house officer at Richmond will always be glad to give cash for it. What apology must I make for so free a call on you ? And what thanks & apology for the use I made of your friendly offer as to the potatoes ? But I am again a new beginner in the world, & it is usual for *old* settlers to help *young* ones. France is triumphant in the North. Her rebellion also subsides. The affair of Toulon is against her as yet ; but I suspect it is not over,—the yellow fever is entirely vanished in Philadelphia, & all the inhabitants returned to it. The President remains here merely to form a point of union for the members of Congress, who may arrive uninformed of the safety of Philadelphia ; but nobody doubts that they will immediately go from hence to sit in Philadelphia. I shall be within striking distance of you by the 15th of January. Accept assurances of my respect and affection.

JEFFERSON TO EDMOND C. GENET.

Germantown Nov. 24. 1793.

Sir

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th. instant, & to thank you for the information

it conveys of the present state of the French islands in the West Indies. their condition must always be interesting to the US. with whom nature has connected them by the strong link of mutual necessities. the riot which had been raised in Philadelphia some days ago, by emigrants from St. Domingo, had before excited the indignation & attention of the government, both local & general. it is with extreme concern that they now learn that the respectable strangers whom you mention, were brought into danger by it, and certainly no endeavors will be wanting to bring the offenders to condign punishment. I have the honor to inclose you a proclamation which had been issued immediately by the Mayor of Philadelphia, and to assure you that the efforts he is using will receive from the general government every aid they can give, to make a signal example of those who have thus violated that protection which the laws of the US. extend to all persons within their pale.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir

Your most obedt.

& humble servt.

Th : Jefferson

The Min. Plen. of France.

JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

Germantown, Nov. 24, 1793.

Dear Sir

I received yesterday your favor of the 14th. mine of the 2d. ought to have been then at hand, & since that those of the 10th. & 17th. all will have informed you of my health, & being here. I am happy that you think Ferguson will suit you, and insist on your acceptance of him. and this is no sacrifice to me, because my sole motive for having thought of parting with him was that he is unnecessary for me, as I must keep carriage horses which will do to ride. I insist also as a condition, that you feel yourself perfectly free to part with him whenever he ceases to answer your end or you can by parting with him have your ends better answered. from this moment then he is yours, and I am much happier in it than to have turned him over to any other person.

I am sorry you have so much trouble with my furniture. However I shall soon be able to relieve you from any drudgery. I enclose you a letter to Mr. Stewart, open, that you may see its contents, & give the necessary directions to Mr. Biddle to go or send for the sheep when notified that they are ready. I think it important they should be fetched before the snows. I am sincerely sorry to hear of the situation

of Colo. Randolph. it has been apprehended for some time. should he leave you his executor, it may merit mature consideration whether you will consult your ease (?) or interest in undertaking to act. my love to my dear Martha & Maria, and am Dear Sir affectionately yours

Th : Jefferson.

Mr. Randolph.

JEFFERSON TO MYERS.

Germantown Nov. 24. 1793.

Sir

According to my engagement I now inclose you 186. Doll. thirty six cents—£55-18-3 Virginia currency to be passed to the credit of Mrs. Carr. you will readily perceive that your endorsement on the inclosed bank note will make it cash to any person willing to remit to Philadelphia. the Custom house officers particularly take up these notes by a general arrangement.

I am Sir

Your most obedt. sert

Th : Jefferson

Mr. Myers.

JEFFERSON TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.*

Germantown Nov. 27. 1793.

Dear Sir

My last letters to you were of the 11th. & 14th. of Sep. since which I have received yours of July 5.8. Aug. 1.15.27.28. the fever which at that time had given alarm in Philadelphia, became afterwards far more destructive than had been apprehended, & continued much longer, from the uncommon drought & warmth of the autumn. On the 1st. day of this month the President & heads of the departments assembled here. on that day also began the first rains which had fallen for some months. they were copious, & from that moment the infection ceased, no new subject took it, & those before infected either died or got well, so that the disease terminated most suddenly. the inhabitants who had left the city, are now all returned, & business going on again as briskly as ever. the President will be established there in about a week: at which time Congress is to meet.

Our negotiations with the North Western Indians have completely failed, so that war must settle our difference. we expected nothing else, & had gone into the negotiations only to prove to all our citizens that

*Minister of the United States to Great Britain.

peace was unattainable on terms which any one of them would admit.

You have probably heard of a great misunderstanding between Mr. Genet & us. on the meeting of Congress it will be made public. but as the details of it are lengthy, I must refer for them to my next letter when possibly I may be able to send you the whole correspondence in point. we have kept it merely personal, convinced his nation will disapprove him. to them we have with the utmost assiduity given every proof of inviolate attachment. we wish to hear from you on the subject of M. de la Fayette, tho we know that circumstances do not admit sanguine hopes.

The copper by the Pigon, & Mohawk is received. our coinage of silver has been delayed by Mr. Coxe's inability to give the security required by law.

I shall write to you again immediately after the meeting of Congress. I have the honor to be with sentiments of great esteem & respect. Dear Sir

Your friend & servt.

Th: Jefferson.

Mr. Pinckney.

JEFFERSON TO MRS. CHURCH.*

Germantown, Nov. 27th, 1793.

I have received, my very good friend, your kind letter of August 19th, with the extract from that of Lafayette, for whom my heart has been constantly bleeding. The influence of the United States has been put into action, as far as it could be either with decency or effect. But I fear that distance and difference of principle give little hold to General Washington on the jailers of Lafayette. However, his friends may be assured that our zeal has not been inactive. Your letter gives me the first information that our dear friend Madame de Corny has been, as to her fortune, among the victims of the times. Sad times, indeed! and much-lamented victim! I know no country where the remains of a fortune could place her so much at her ease as this, and where public

*This was Angelica (Schuyler) Church, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of New York, and therefore a sister of Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. In 1777 she married John Barker Church, an Englishman who had espoused the cause of the Colonies. At the end of the war they returned to England and in 1788 Mr. Church was elected a member of Parliament. Their home in London was the centre of noted hospitality, particularly to Americans and the French emigrés of the Revolution. They were deeply interested in securing the release of Lafayette from his Austrian prison. In 1797 they returned to New York. The letter is reprinted from *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 224.

esteem is so attached to worth, regardless of wealth ; but our manners, and the state of our society here, are so different from those to which her habits have been formed, that she would lose more, perhaps, in that scale. And Madam Cosway in a convent ! I knew that to much goodness of heart she joined enthusiasm and religion ; but I thought that very enthusiasm would have prevented her from shutting up her adoration of the God of the universe within the walls of a cloister ; that she would rather have sought the *mountain-top*. How happy should I be that it were *mine* that you, she, and Madame de Corny would seek. You say, indeed, that you are coming to America, but I know that means New York. In the mean time, I am going to Virginia. I have at length been able to fix that to the beginning of the new year. I am then to be liberated from the hated occupation of politics, and to remain in the bosom of my family, my farm, and my books. I have my house to build, my fields to farm, and to watch for the happiness of those who labor for mine. I have one daughter married to a man of science, sense, virtue, and competence ; in whom indeed I have nothing more to wish. They live with me. If the other shall be as fortunate, in due process of time I shall imagine myself as blessed as the most blessed of the patriarchs. Nothing could then with-

draw my thoughts a moment from home but a recollection of my friends abroad. I often put the question, whether yourself and Kitty will ever come to see your friends at Monticello? but it is my affection, and not my experience of things, which has leave to answer, and I am determined to believe the answer, because in that belief I find I sleep sounder, and wake more cheerful. *En attendant*, God bless you.

Accept the homage of my sincere and constant affection,

Th: Jefferson.

JEFFERSON TO JOHN NANCARROW.*

Germantown Nov. 28. 1793.

Dear Sir

Having been sensible that Mrs. Nancarrow & yourself were proposing to incommode yourselves out of merely friendly dispositions to me, and that I could not avoid embarrassing you more than I could

*John Nancarrow is described in the directory of 1793 as steel manufacturer. His home was 291 High St., but two doors above the office of the Secretary of State. The following letter from the original in the Virginia Historical Society written March 31st 1793 by Jefferson to his friend Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, Va., may perhaps explain why Jefferson did not want to put himself under obligations to the Nancarrows in accepting the hospitality which they had proffered.

Dear Sir,

I have written you a line this day by Mr. John Nancarrow to

be easy under. I received yesterday with great satisfaction the offer of commodious apartments which I have not hesitated to engage, because it relieves me insomuch as it relieves you from the inconveniences which your friendship disposed you to encounter. accept for Mrs. Nancarrow & yourself my sincere thanks for this proof of your goodness, & assurances of the esteem of Dear Sir

Your friend & sert

Th : Jefferson.

Mr. Nancarrow.

recommend him to you as a man of worth and science. What I say therein of him is religiously true, and I recommend him sincerely as a man I esteem, but lest you should be off your guard I mention in this, which goes by post, that I have understood his circumstances here to be bad, so that you must not be led into any money matters on his account. I had avoided saying anything on that subject in my other letter, but apprehensive you might not infer that it was done of design, I have thought it my duty to be more particular in this special letter. I wish Mr. Nancarrow would be persuaded to set up with you some more hopeful business than that of mining. I should imagine his former one of making steel would be gainful.

JEFFERSON TO DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

[Copy]

To U. S. Attornies

Germantown, Novr. 29th. 1793.

Sir,

The Minister Plenipo. of France complains that the Consuls of his Nation are exposed to insults, and their persons to danger from the numerous French Refugees, chiefly of the Islands, who are in & about the places of their residence, and are understood to be ill disposed to the Government of France, and those in authority under it. The Consuls are liable to the ordinary laws of the country and entitled to their protection, as other Strangers are, yet, from respect to the Sovereign whose commission they bear, a more attentive enforcement of the laws of protection is due to them than to other Strangers. I presume that the laws of all the States have provided proper punishment for breaches of the peace *committed*; I presume that in all the States some measure of *prevention* against threatened danger equivalent to that of binding to the peace, or good behaviour in the English law has provided.—I am therefore to ask the favor of you to inform the Consul of France, residing in your State, that the federal government respecting his Nation, and attentive to the safety of those employed by it here, will

put into activity all the means of protection for his person which the laws have provided ;—that you will be so good as to explain to him what these provisions are, and how he is to proceed to avail himself of them in case of need—and that you will in the same and all other cases, take any measures which they authorize to prevent or to punish breeches of the peace or good behaviour towards him, which are characterized and forbidden as such by the laws.

I have the honor to be with great Esteem & respect,
Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant.

Th: Jefferson

Chrstopr. Gore	}		Mass.
Richd. Harrison	}		N. York.
William Rawle	}	Esqrs.	Pennsya.
Zebulon Hollingsworth	}		Ma'y'd.
Thomas Parker	}		So. Carolina.

Attornies of the U. S.



5275-77 Main Street Germantown
Said to have been occupied by Jefferson 1793

PART II.

GERMANTOWN
CABINET
MEETINGS.

Germantown Cabinet Meetings

Shortly after Jefferson assumed his duties as Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet, he says, to aid his memory, he began to jot down the "passing transactions on lone scraps of paper taken out of my pocket in the moment and laid by to be copied fair at leisure." These scraps were afterwards bound into a book by a binder connected with his office, under Jefferson's immediate oversight, without the workman having opportunity to read them. The notes cover, with many breaks of greater or less extent, the period from August 31st, 1791 to February 25th, 1809. In 1818, after a lapse of nine years, when, as he says, "the passions of the time are passed away," he gave

the whole a "calm revisal." These memoranda of a widely different character, official opinions, accounts of meetings, gossip, conversations, anecdotes, information, are grouped together in three volumes, now in the possession of the Library of Congress, and called by the author "The Anas of Thomas Jefferson." They were first published in the edition of Jefferson's writings authorized by Congress and edited by H. A. Washington in 1854. They are also included in Ford's Writings of Thomas Jefferson, and a separate, complete edition of the Anas was published in New York in 1903.

In all these editions the notes have been edited, the spelling, punctuating and capitalizing corrected. It was thought by the compiler that as the Anas were readily accessible in other forms, it would add to their interest to give those which are here included, exactly as Jefferson jotted them down. The accounts of the cabinet meetings in Germantown are particularly full and replete with interest. While it is not likely the questions discussed, questions at

that time of weighty importance, will be of much interest to the casual reader, still the discussion cannot fail to be of interest as disclosing the diametrical views held by the two talented men, the leaders of the cabinet, Jefferson and Hamilton. On every important public matter their opinions clashed, Jefferson with a conviction that was immovable and Hamilton with a conviction equally strong, but urged with greater impetuosity and warmth. These differences arose almost immediately on Jefferson's taking office and by the time we are considering, the cabinet councils had become the scene of perpetual wrangles, which wearing as they must have been to the two principals in the discussions, must have been even more so to the President. The Cabinet was frequently evenly divided, then the decision would rest with the President, but in one case at least, as recorded in these notes, Washington stood with Jefferson alone as against the other three.

Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General, usually sided with Jefferson, while Henry Knox,

the Secretary of War, was an adherent of Hamilton's. It must have been a great relief to all concerned when at the end of the year Jefferson retired. The Cabinet notes as recorded and preserved by Jefferson follow.

Nov. 15. 93. E. R.* tells me that Ham.* in conversn with him yesterday said "Sir, if all the people in America were now assembled & to call on me to say whether I am a friend to the French revolution, I would declare that *I have it in abhorrence.*"

Nov. 8. 93. at a conference at the President's,† where I read several letters of Mr. Genet, on finishing one of them, I asked what should be the answer? the Presdt. thereupon

* Throughout the abbreviations E. R. and R. of course stand for Randolph. H. and Ham. for Hamilton, and K. for Knox.

† The President was then lodging with the Reverend Frederic Herman, pastor of the German Reformed Church at the Market Square and at the same time the German teacher of the Academy, adjoining which grounds was his house, now No. 130 School House Lane. Washington occupied this house from November 1st, when he reached Germantown, until November 11th, when he set out on a week's trip to Reading and Lancaster, Pa.

took occasion to observe that Mr. Genet's conduct contind. to be of so extraordr. a nature that he meant to propose to our serious considn. whether he should not have his functions discontd. & be ordd. away? he went lengthily into observns. on his conduct to raise against the Executive 1. the people, 2. the state govmts. 3. the congress. he shewed he felt the venom of Genet's pen, but declared he would not chuse his insolence should be regarded any further than as it might be thought to affect the honor of the country. Hamilton & Knox readily & zealously argued for dismissing Mr. Genet. Randolph opposed it with firmness, & pretty lengthily. the Presid. replied to him lengthily, & concluded by saying he did not wish to have the thing hastily decided but that we should consider of it, and give our opinions on his return from Reading and Lancaster. accdly

Nov. 18. we met at his house,* read new

* The President was absent from Germantown from November 11th to 17th inclusive, on a trip to the interior of Pennsylvania, on his return he occupied the house now No. 5442 Main Street,

volumes of Genet's lres. recd. since the President's departure, then took up the discussion of the subjects of communin. to Congress 1. the Proclmn.* E. R. read the statement that he had prepared. Hamilton did not like it, said much about his own views, that the Presidt. had a right to declare his opns. to our citizens & foreign nations--that it was not the interest of this country to join in the war & that we were under no oblige. to join in it, that tho' the declr. would not legally bind Congress, yet the Presidt. had a right to give his opn. of it, and he was agt. any expln. in the speech† which should yield that he did not intend that foreign

Germantown. Its owner, Colonel Isaac Franks, had taken refuge further from the stricken city, and after considerable negotiation the house, which was superior in location and no doubt in comfort, was secured for the President. A full account of the house and the President's occupancy of it will be found in Washington in Germantown.

* April 23, 1793, Washington had issued a Proclamation of Neutrality in the war which had broken out between England and France. This step was greatly unpopular with a large portion of the citizens of the United States who thought we should actively aid France, our late ally. It was necessary that the matter should be presented in its best light to Congress.

† This was the speech which the President addressed in person to the newly assembled Congress.

nations shd. consider it as a declr. of neutrality future as well as present, that he understood it as meant to give them that sort of assurance & satisfaction & to say otherwise now would be a deception on them. he was for the Pres's using such expressions as should neither affirm his right to make such a declr. to foreign nations, nor yield it. R. & myself opposed the right of the Presidt. to declare anything future on the qu. shall there or shall there not be war? & that no such thing was intended. that H's constrn. of the effect of the proclam. would have been a determ. of the question of the *guarantee** which we both denied to have intended, & I had at the time declared the Executive incompetent to. R. said he meant that forn. natns. should understand it as an intimation of the Pr's opn. that neutrality would be our interest. I declared my meaning to have been that forn. nations should understand

* This was the guarantee in the Treaty of Alliance with France, by which the United States agreed, in case France became engaged in a defensive war, to protect the French West Indies. In this case France had declared war against Great Britain.

no such thing, that on the contrary I would have chosen them to be doubtful & to come & bid for our neutrality. I admitted the Presidt. havg. recd. the natn. at the close of Congr. in a state of peace, was bound to preserve them in that state till Congr. shd. meet again, & might proclaim anything which went no farther. the Pres. decl'd. he never had an idea that he could bind Congress agt. declarg. war, or that anything containd. in his proclmn. could look beyd. the first day of their meeting. his main view was to keep our people in peace, he apologized for the use of the term neutrality in his answers, & justified it by having submitted the first of them (that to the merchts. wherein it was used) to our considn., & we had not objected to the term. he concluded in the end that Colo. H. should prepare a paragraph on this subject for the speech, & it should then be considered. - - - we were here called to dinner.

After dinner the *renvoi* of Genet was proposed by himself. I opposed it on these topics. France the only nation on earth sincerely our

friend. -- the measure so harsh a one that no precedt. is producd. where it has not been followed by war -- our messenger has now been gone 84 days,* conseqlly. we may hourly expect the return & to be relieved by their revocr. of him. were it now resolved on, it would be 8 or 10 days before the matter on which the order shd. be founded could be selected, arranged, discussed, & forwarded. this wd. bring us within 4 or 5 days of the meeting of Congress, wd. it not be better to wait & see how the pulse of that body, new as it is, would beat-- they are with us now, probably, but such a step as this may carry many over to Genet's side. -- Genet will not obey the order. &c. &c. the Presidt. asked me what I would do if Genet sent the accusn. to us to be communicd. to

* At a meeting of the cabinet held August 15th the Secretary of the Treasury had been authorized to obtain a vessel either by hire or purchase, to be sent express to France with the dispatches to Gouverneur Morris, U. S. Minister to that country asking France to recall the objectionable minister Genet. The dispatches were ready August 23d. If the eighty-four days absence is correct the messenger must have sailed August 26th.

Congr. as he threatd. in the lre. to Moultrie? I sd. I wd. not send it to Congr. but eithr. put it in the newsp. or send it back to him to be publd. if he pleased. other questions & answers were put & answered in a quicker altercation than I ever before saw the President use. -- Hamilton was for the *renvoi*. spoke much of the dignity of the nation, that they were now to form their character, that our conduct now would tempt or deter other forn. min. from treatg. us in the same manner, touched on the Pr's personal feelings--did not believe Fr. wd. make it a cause of war, if she did we ought to do what was right & meet the consequences. H. Knox on the same side, & said he thot. it very possible Mr. Genet would either declare us a departmt. of France, or levy troops here & endeavor to reduce us to obedce. -- R. of my opn., & argued chiefly on the resurrection of popularity to Genet, which might be prodd. by this measure. that at present he was dead in the public opn. if we would but leave him so. the Presidt. lamented there was not an unanimity

among us, that as it was we had left him exactly where we found him. & so it ended.

Nov. 21. we met at the President's. the manner of explaining to Congress the intentions of the Proclmn. was the matter of debate. E. R. produced his way of stating it. this expressed it's views to have been 1. to keep our citizens quiet. 2. to intimate to foreign nations that it was the Pr's opn. that the interests & disposns. to this country were for peace. Hamilton produced his statement in which he declared his intention to be to say nothing which could be laid hold of for any purpose, to leave the proclamation to explain itself. He entered pretty fully into all the argumentation of *Pacificus*,* he justified the right of the Presidt. to declare his opinion for a *future neutrality*, & that there existed no circumstances to oblige the US. to enter into the war on account of the guarantee, and in agreeing to the proclmn.

* A series of articles defending the power of the President to issue a proclamation of neutrality written by Hamilton under the name *Pacificus* had been appearing in the *Federalist* papers.

he meant it to be understood as conveying both those declarns., viz, neutrality, & that the casus foederis on the guarantee did not exist. he admitted the Congress might notwithstanding declare war notwithstg. these declrs. of the Presidt., in like manner they might declare war in the face of a treaty, & in direct infraction of it. among other positions laid down by him, this was with great positiveness, that the constn. having given power to the Presidt. & Senate to make treaties, they might make a treaty of neutrality which should take from Congress the right to decalre war in that particular case, and that under the form of a treaty they might exercise any powers whatever, even those exclusively given by the constn. to the H. of representatives. R. opposed this position, & seemed to think that where they undertook to do acts by treaty (as to settle a tariff of duties) which were exclusively given to the legislature, that an act of the legislature would be necessary to confirm them, as happens in England when a treaty interferes with duties establ. by

law. -- I insisted that in givg. to the Prest. & Senate a power to make treaties, the constn. meant only to authorize them to carry into effect by way of treaty any powers they might constitutionally exercise. I was sensible of the weak points in this position. but there were still weaker in the other hypotheses, and if it be impossible to discover a national measure of authority to have been given by this clause, I would rather suppose that the cases which my hypothesis would leave unprovided, were not thought of by the Convention, or if thought of, could not be agreed on, or were thought on and deemed unnecessary to be invested in the government. of this last description were treaties of neutrality, treaties of offensive & defensive &c. in every event I would rather construe so narrowly as to oblige the nation to amend and thus declare what powers they could agree to yield, than too broadly & indeed so broadly as to enable the Executive and Senate to do things which the constn. forbid. on the question Which form of explaining the principles

of the proclmn. should be adopted? I declared for R's, tho' it gave to that instrumt. more objects than I had contemplated. K. declared for H's. the Presidt. said he had had but one object, the keeping our people quiet till Congress should meet, that nevertheless to declare he did not mean a declr. of neutrality in the technical sense of the phrase might perhaps be crying *peccavi*, before he was charged. however he did not decide between the two draughts.

Nov. 23. at the President's. present K. R. & Th: J.* subject, the heads of the speech. one was, a proposition to Congress to fortify the principal harbors. I opposed the expediency of the general government's undertaking it, & the expediency of the President's proposing it. it was amended by substituting a proposition to adopt means for enforcg. respect to the jurisdn. of the US. within its waters. it was proposed to recommend the establishmt. of a military academy.† I objected that none of the specified

* Hamilton was ill and unable to attend.

† West Point grew out of the movement here given an impetus.

powers given by the constn. to Congress would authorize this. it was therefore referred for further considn. & inquiry. K. was for both proposns. R. agt. the former, but said nothing as to the latter. the Presidt. acknold. he had doubted of the expedcy. of undertakg. the former, and as to the latter, tho' it would be a good thing, he did not wish to bring on anything which might generate heat & ill humor. it was agreed that Rand. should draw the speech & I the messages.

Nov. 28. we met at the President's.

I read over a list of the papers copying to be communicated to Congress on the subject of Mr. Genet. it was agreed that Genet's lre. of Aug. 13. to the President, mine of Aug. 16. and Genet's of Nov. 14* to myself & the atty.

*The following letter is reprinted from the *Connecticut Courant* of December 2nd, 1793.

NEW YORK, NOV. 14, 1794.

2nd year of the French Republic.

SIR :

I believe I ought to communicate to you the copy of a letter, which I have just written to the Attorney General of the United States, to demand of him, that Messrs. Jay and King, the one Chief

genl. desiring a prosecution of Jay & King should not be sent to the legislature: on a general opn. that the discussion of the fact certified by Jay & King had better be left to the channel of the newspapers, & in the private hands in which it now is than for the Presidt. to meddle in it, or give room to a discussion of it in Congress.

Justice, and the other a Senator of the United States, who have published in the newspapers a libel against me, should be presented at the Federal Court. I have to this moment omitted nothing to ascertain the falsity of the perfidious imposture, to which the Gentlemen have not been ashamed to add their names. It is with this view, I ventured to write to the President of the United States; it is with this view that my friends have called in many papers upon Mr. Jay and Mr. King, to produce the proofs of their assertion; but the answer which you are charged to make me, Sir, being as indecisive as the silence of these Gentlemen was profound, a judicial enquiry alone remains for me to confound those who have traduced me, both as a delegate of the French people, and as an individual. This satisfaction will be the most agreeable I can obtain, for I have only wished for the esteem of a free and virtuous people, of whatsoever country they might be; it is doubtless grievous to see at this day calumny bent upon persuing me, and the benevolence of a people whom I revere, surprised from me, as well as that of their first magistrate. But what will be my satisfaction, when truth alone shall force those, who now misconstrue both my intentions and my principles, to do justice to my courage, my unshaken patriotism, and the purity of my conduct.

Accept my respects,

Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State.

Genet.

E. R. had prepared a draught of the Speech. the clause recommending fortifications was left out, but that for a military academy was inserted. I opposed it, as unauthorized by the constn. H. & K. approved it without discussion. E. R. was for it, saying that the words of the constn. authorizing Congress to lay taxes &c. *for the common defence*, might comprehend it. the President said he would not chuse to recommend anything against the constn., but if it was *doubtful*, he was so impressed with the necessity of this measure, that he would refer it to Congress, & let them decide for themselves whether the constn. authorized it or not. It was therefore left in. I was happy to see that R. had, by accident, used the expression "our republic" in the speech. the President however made no objection to it, and so as much as it had disconcerted him on a former occasion with me, it was now put into his own mouth to be pronounced to the two houses of legislature.

No material alterations were proposed or made in any part of the draught.

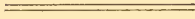
After dinner, I produced the draught of messages on the subject of France & England, proposing that that relative to Spain should be subsequent & secret.

H. objected to the draught in toto. said that the contrast drawn between the conduct of France & England amounted to a declr. of war. he denied that Fr. had ever done us favors, that it was mean for a nation to acknowledge favors, that dispositions of the people of this country towards France he considered as a serious calamity, that the Executive ought not by an echo of this language to nourish that disposn. in the people. that the offers in commerce made us by France were the offspring of the moment, of circumstances which wd. not last, & it was wrong to receive as permanent, things merely temporary. that he could demonstrate that Gr. Br. shewed us more favors than France. in complaisance to him I whittled down the expressions without opposition, struck out that of "favors antient & recent" from France, softened some terms & omitted some sentiments re-

specting Gr. Br. he still was against the whole, but insisted that at any rate it should be a secret communication, because the matters it stated were still depending. these were 1. the inexecution of the treaty, 2. the restraining our corn commerce to their own ports & those of their friends. Knox joined Hamilton in everything. Randolph was for the communications, that the documents respecting the 1st. should be given in as public, but that those respecting the 2d. should not be given to the legislature at all but kept secret. I began to tremble now for the whole, lest all should be kept secret. I urged especially the duty now incumbent on the Presidt. to lay before the legislature & the public what had passed on the inexecution of the treaty, since Mr. Hammond's answer of this month might be considered as the last we should ever have; that therefore it could no longer be considered as a negotiation pending. I urged that the documents respecting the stopping our corn ought also to go, but insisted that if it should be thot. better to withhold them,

the restriction should not go to those respecting the treaty: that neither of these subjects was more in a state of *pendency* than the recall of Mr. Genet, on which nevertheless no scruples had been expressed. the Presidt. took up the subject with more vehemence than I have seen him shew, and decided without reserve that not only what had passed on the inexecution of the treaty should go in as public (in which H. & K. had divided in opinion from R. & myself) but also that those respecting the stopping our corn should go in as public (wherein H. K. & Randolph had been against me) this was the first instance I had seen of his deciding on the opn. of one against that of three others, which proved his own to have been very strong.

PART III.



CABINET
DECISIONS

Cabinet Decisions.

Nov. 23, 1793.

AT sundry meetings of the heads of departments & Attorney General from the 1st to the 21st of Nov. 1793, at the President's, several matters were agreed upon as stated in the following letters from the Secretary of State, to wit.*

Nov. 8. Circular letter to the representative of France, Gr. Brit., Spain & the U. Netherlands, fixing provisorily the extent of our jurisdiction into the sea at a sea-league.

10. Circular d°. to the district attornies, notifying the same, & committing to them the taking depositions in those cases.

Same date. Circular to the foreign representatives, notifying how depositions are to be taken in those cases.

*These decisions of the Cabinet reached at the meetings held in Germantown are included in the Washington manuscripts in the Library of Congress. They were recorded by Jefferson, who furnished the list to the President for his information and personal use.

The substance of the preceding letters were agreed to by all, & the rough draughts were submitted to them & approved.

Nov. 14. To Mr. Hammond, that the U. S. are not bound to restore the Roehampton. This was agreed by all, the rough draught was submitted to & approved by Col^o. Hamilton & Mr. Randolph. Genl. Knox was absent on a visit to Trenton.

10. Letters to Mr. Genet & Hammond, & the 14. to Mr. Hollingsworth for taking depositions in the cases of the Coningham & Pilgrim.

15. D^o. to Genet, Hammond & Mr. Rawle for deposns. in the case of the William.

14. D^o. to Hollingsworth to ascertain whether Mr. Moissonier has passed sentence on the Roehampton & Pilgrim.

These last mentd. letters of the 10th, 14th & 15th were as to their substance agreed on by all, the draughts were only communicated to Mr. Randolph and approved by him.

Nov. 13. To Mr. Hammond. enquiring

when we shall have an answer on the inexecution of the treaty. The substance agreed by all. The letter was sent off without communication, none of the gentlemen being at Germantown.

22. To Mr. Genet. returning the commissions of Pennevert & Chervi because not addressed to the Presidn.

Same date. To d°. enquiring whether the Lovely lass, Prince William Henry & Jane of Dublin have been given up, and if not, requiring that they be now restored to owners.

These were agreed to by all as to their matter, and the letters themselves were submitted before they were sent to the President, the Secretary of War & the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Treasury absent.

Same date. To Mr. Gore for authentic evidence of Dannery's protest on the President's revocation of Duplaine's Exequatur. The substance agreed to by all. The letter sent off before communication.

PART IV.

THE
FINANCIAL
DIARY
ETC.

The Financial Diary.

THE so-called "Financial Diary" kept by Thomas Jefferson covers a period from January 1st, 1791 to December 28th, 1803. It is a combined account book and diary, consisting of 192 pages, filled not only with farm, household and personal expenses, but with a great variety of information and observations on matters which interested the owner. The original is in the possession of the Lenox Library, New York City, having for many years been owned by the late Samuel J. Tilden. The entries here given, which were copied from the original, cover the period from October 25th, when the Secretary of State left Monticello, to December 10th, 1793, which was ten days after he had gone into Philadelphia from Germantown. A reproduction of a page from the book will be found on another page.

gave Maria* 3.

put into hands of MRandolph jun^r. 20. D. to pay expenses of removing my furniture from Rocket's to Belvedere.

left Monticello.

Oct. 25. pd. oats at Gordons. .4†

26. do. at Wright's. .3

27. dinner lodging etc at Gatewood's 2.1

Fredsbg. barber .25 ferrge etc Chatham .25 Srvt .1

gave Bob for his expences 3.

pd Benson breakft. lodg. etc—7. 57

pd. for 2 passages in the stage to Alexandria 6. Serv^t .1

28. ferrge at Falmouth .1

Stafford C. H. breakfast .5

Colchester, dinner &c. 1-1

Alexandria. barber .25—lodg. at Wise's, .7

2 seats in stage to Baltimore 7.66

29. srvt .2

Georgetown ferrge .2

Bladenbg. breakfast .62

Spuryear .1 dinner 1.43 srvt .2

30. Baltimore barber .2 srvt .2

lodging at Storck's 3.66

Bush. dinner. 1.91

Susqueha. ferrge and ferrymen .5

31 . . . Rogers's supper & lodging 1.43 srvt .125

Elkton breaktest .73

* Maria Jefferson, the daughter.

†In such entries as this, of which there are many, the figure represents tens and should be read forty cents, thirty cents, two dollars and ten cents, etc.

25. pd oats at Gordons .4
 26. do. at Wright's .3
 27. dinner lodging c^o at Gatewood's 2.1
 Fredly. barber .25 ferris c^o Chat ham. 25 serv^t .1
 gave Bob for his expences 3.
 pd Benson breakf^t, lodg^s & c^o 7.57
 pd for 2 passages in the stage to Alexandria 6. serv^t .1
 28. ferris at Falmouth .1
 Stafford, C. H. breakfast .5
 Colchester. dinner c^o 1.1
 Alexandria. barber .25 - lodg^s & v^o Use's .7
 2 seats in stage to Baltimore 7.66
 29. - - - - - serv^t .2
 Georgetown ferris .2
 Bladensy. breakfast .62
 Spurr's. dinner 1.43 serv^t .2
 30. Baltimore barber .2 serv^t .2
 Lodging at Storch's 3.66
 Truth. dinner 1.91
 Susqueh^a. ferris and ferryman .5
 31. - - - Rogers's supper & lodging 1.43 serv^t .125
 Elkton breakfast .73
 20. 1. Brandywine. dinner & lodging at Stewart's 1.5
 the fer. breakfast .69 serv^t .25 barber .25
 Germantown. pd Hartonen Elliot for bringing me from Balti-
 - more 6 days coming & going 30. D. ferris 3.18 = 33.18
 Tall the preceding travelling expences amount to 77.65
 4. pd James vases D. D. vashery .5 serv^t .125
 5. pd for inkpot .18
 12. gave the cook at Brockius's .5
 pd Brockius's bill 11. days ent^t 29. 51
 13. pd Williams drawing a tooth 4.66
 14. pd Franks the barber 1.125 vashery 1.
 pd Brockius's second bill 12.03. note 3.33 was for board of
 Lapsley the Office keeper.
 15. pd barber .25 James M^d exp. 3. table 1.33 slipper 1.25
 16. pd for shoebuckles .31 cutting wood .2
 17. pd barber .125
 18. pd for mending lock .2
 gave my nite to bank of U.S. for 875. D. @ 60. days
 19. have credit at bank for do. 865. 82
 inclosed to John Ross ord. on bank for 100. D. for note Sep. 13.
 20. pd Dr. Shippen his acc^t in full by ord. on bank for 63.67
 inclosed to Mrs Taylor ord. on bank for 20. D. in a bank bill
 to be sent to Jacob Hollingsworth to be done as sent.
 pd James for M^d exp. 1. D.
 pd Williams dentist 2.33
 21. inclosed to Jacob Hollingsworth the bank bill for 20. D.
 22. gave Philip's Breneau order on bank for 18.75 Count
 for myself to Oct. 26. 93. 6.
 James Madison - - - 4.5
 Ambrose Madison - - - 6.
 for cash I need. for Dr. Jones 2.25
 18.75

- Nov. 1. Brandywine. dinner & lodging at Stewart's 1.5
 Chester. breakfast .69 srvt .25 barber .25
 Germantown. pd Hartman Elliot for bringing me from Balti-
 -more 6 days coming & going 30. D. ferriages 3.18=33.18
 [all the preceding travelling expences amount to 77.65]
 4. pd. James wages 8. D. washing .5 srvt 125
 5. pd for inkpot .18
 12. gave the cook at Bockius'* .5
 pd Bockius's bill 11. days entl. 29.51
 13. pd Gilliams drawing a tooth 4.66
 14. pd Franks the barber 1.125 washing 1.
 pd Bockius', second bill 12.03. note 3.33 was for board of
 Lapseley† the office keeper.
 15. pd barber .25 James hh'd exp. 3. table 1.33 slippers 1.25
 16. pd. for shoe brushes .31 cutting wood .2
 17. pd. barber .125
 18. paid for mending lock .2
 gave my note to bank of US. for 875. D @ 60. days‡
 19. have credit at bank for do. 865. 82
 inclosed to John Ross§ ord. on bank for 100. D. note Sep. 13
 20. pd. Dr. Shippen his acc. in full by ord. on bank for 63.67
 inclosed to mr. Taylor** ord. on bank for 20 D. in a bank bill
 to be sent to Jacob Hollingworth to buy clover seed.
 pd James for hhd exp 1. D
 pd Gilliams dentist 2.33

* Bockius was the landlord of the King of Prussia tavern, Germantown.

† Thomas Lapsley, office keeper for the State Department.

‡ See letter to John Kean, cashier of the Bank of the U. S. page 93

§ See letter page 102

** See letter to George Taylor, chief clerk of the Department
 of State page 101.

Nov. 21. inclosed to Jacob Hollingsworth the bank bill for 20. D.*

22. gave Philip Freneau order on bank for 18.75 to cr't
for myself to Oct. 26.93.† 6.

James Madison . . . 4.5

Ambrose Madison . . . 6.

for cash I recd. for Jos. Jones 2.25

18.75

gave order on bank for 186.36 to be remitted to
Myers in a post bill to pay the order of Mrs
Carr. ante. Oct. 19.

gave order on bank US. for 40. D. in a post bill
to be remitted to A. Stewart‡ to buy sheep
Patrick Kennon remitted to me an order of Charles
Smith & co. on Elliston & Perot for 109.83 due
to Wm. Short for which I am to credit W. S.
he inclosed me W. Short's certificates of stock in
his hands, to be transferred from the office in
New York to that in Philade in W. S's own name
so these certificates will not enter into acct.
between W. S. & myself.

they are 2800. 6 percents

2356. 3 percents

2150. deferred

7306

* The letter to Jacob Hollingsworth on page 107.

† This was in payment of subscriptions to the National Gazette.
It suspended publication October 26th, 1793.

‡ Letter to Stewart in regard to the purchase of sheep
will be found on page 115.

indorsed Smith & co's bill for 109.83 to bank of US.

to be collected & entered to my credit.

pd Mery for horse hire 1.33

pd Jo. for $\frac{1}{2}$ cord hiccory 2.83 of which
charge half for the office

Nov. 23. pd Ingles* in full by ord. on bank 67.03 pd wash's 1.5

pd for cord of wood 5.33 cutting .6 (half to office

pd Peter Didier† for 7. pr stock'gs 59 overp'd Jo. on acct 11

pd James hhd exp. $11\frac{1}{2} + 3/10 = 2$

24. inclosed to Myer‡ the bank post note for 186 D. 36 on acct. of
my assumpsit to him for Mrs. Carr.

inclosed to A. Stewart a bank post note for 40. D. to buy sheep

25. James for hhd exp .5

gave Mrs. Fullarton ord. on bank for 66.67 in full

rec'd from bank by Crosby 50. D.

pd Campbell for books 4. D. pd for lenses 1.5 barber. 375

pd Wirtz groceries in full 4.48

29. pd for horse to Phila. .67 washing .75

30. Wirtz $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. coffee .09

received for wood remaining 4. D.

pd Weiss for 15 days board of Thomas Lapsely office keeper 5. D

pd. James hhd exp. $7\frac{1}{2} + 4 = 1. D$

pd Dr. Logan** for a plough 8. D.

* It would seem possible that this was meant for Engle, a prominent family of Germantown since early in its history.

† Peter Didier was a farmer of Germantown. Nearly every household carried on some industry in addition to the cultivation of the soil and knitting was always an important industry of Germantown.

‡ See letter page 119.

**Dr. George Logan, of Stenton, on the borders of Germantown, was among other things a progressive agriculturist, and had constructed a plow on some new principle. He obliged his friends by having some made for them. On May 5th, 1793, Jefferson wrote James Madison: "I have seen Dr. Logan. Your plows will be done in a week and shall be attended to."

- pd. Crosby for pomatum &c 2.22
do waggonage Germ. T. .5
pd. coaches from Germ. Town 2.33
recd. from I. Brighthurst part of note of Aug 3. 23 D. (or of 48 D)
delivered do. 2 peices of New York gold to be changed.
Dec. 6. pd. T. Lapseley wages as office keeper. 6.13
pd. Richardson for spectacles 7.8
pd. Blame acct. for porter 2.17
Dec. 7. paid coach hire^s. 25
10. pd. for shaving brush. 125 - salve. 125

Expenses Department of State

Estimate of the Expenses of the Department of State,*
at Home, for one year, commencing 1st. January 1793.

	Dollrs.	
The Secretary of State's salary	3,500	
One Chief Clerk's "	800	
3 Clerks—(an additional one will probably be requisite) say	2,000	
Clerk for foreign Languages' salary	250	
Office keeper and messenger's "	250	
	<hr/>	6800.00
Stationary of all kinds	240	
Firewood	200	
Office-rent	266, 67	
Newspapers from the different States abt. 20 @ 4 dollrs	80	
Gazettes from, and Gazettes sent to Am. Ministers abroad	25	
Laws of the 1 Session of the 3d. Congress, to be published in 5 newspapers, at about 100 dollrs. each	500	
Printing an edition of the same, to be distributed according to law	700	
For Binding	50	
	<hr/>	\$2,061,67
Deficiencies in the appropriation of the present year.		
for Extra Clerks employed preparing documents laid & to be laid before Congress day .	600	
For an index to the Laws of the 2d. Congress .	200	
	<hr/>	800
		<hr/>
		9,661,7
		<hr/>

Department of State

Decr. 7. 1792.

Th : Jefferson

*The above document, found among the Jefferson papers in the Library of Congress, is of interest as showing the modest scale of public expense in the State Department in 1793. As this estimate covers the month in which this office was so unexpectedly located in Germantown, it would seem to be appropriately included.

PART V.

THE
ORATION.

The Oration

THE deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, occurring as they did on the same day, July 4th, 1826, just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, the significance of which day was largely due to the acts of these two ex-Presidents, aroused the deepest feeling throughout the nation. In all the leading cities, and in many of the smaller towns, meetings were held where the recognized orator delivered an address commemorative of the services and virtue of these two fathers of the Republic.

On July 15th such a meeting was held in Germantown, a committee of arrangements, of which Benjamin Chew, Jr., was the Secretary, was appointed and Walter R. Johnson, principal of the Germantown Academy, was selected to deliver the address. The public

meeting of the citizens of Germantown, Roxborough, Bristol and Penn townships was held on July 20th.

Walter R. Johnson, was a young man, born in Massachusetts June 21, 1795, a graduate of Harvard. He had assumed charge of the Academy in 1821, two years after his graduation, and continued at its head until August 1826. From 1826 to 1836 he was connected with the Philadelphia High School, and later was identified with many educational and scientific projects. He was the first secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He was a prolific writer, having left no less than fifty papers and reports on scientific subjects and twenty or more on matters relating to education. He died in Washington, D. C., April 26th, 1852. A sketch of his life has been published in pamphlet form, being a reprint from Barnard's American Journal of Education for December, 1858.

The oration delivered in 1826 does not appear among the list of his writings, nor is a

copy of it to be found in the Pennsylvania Historical Society or our leading Philadelphia libraries. It was published in book form by the committee in charge of the meeting, in 1826, and this reprint was made from the copy in the possession of the Boston Public Library.*

Mr. Johnson spoke as follows:

An occasion for commemorating departed greatness, is a solemn admonition to all that live. The reflection that spontaneously rises in every mind, is—if the “wise and reverend head” be laid in the dust, shall the humble, undistinguished individual hope to escape the “numerous ills that flesh is heir to?”—if he who stands foremost among the benefactors of his race, finds no exemption from the shafts of fate, shall *any* being of earth count upon the certainty of continued existence? Reason—revelation—experience and universal nature all forbid. All utter a prophetic warning to prepare for the approach of *the mighty conquerer!*

But admonitions respecting the shortness of

* Since the above was written I have found that Dr. William J. Campbell, the publisher of this book, has a perfect copy of the address in his private library.

human life, and the consequent necessity of a continual preparation for the final change, are not the only duties of one who would do justice to such an occasion. It is incumbent on him to reflect, that he stands in the presence of those who have still the prospect of acting some part on the great theatre of human affairs;—that praise of worth in the deceased, is valuable, only as it tends to foster like worth in the living; and that as it is no part of his duty to indulge the bitterness of censure, so it is equally inconsistent with his purpose, to rush into the extravagance of encomium; to place the deceased in an invidious contrast with their survivors; to “praise the dead out of hatred to the living,” or, “to beat the children with the bones of their fathers.” He has also to reflect, that the names of men whose walk was that of *civil* life, and whose glory was in their intellectual power, must be as enduring as the immortal part of their nature, in which that power resided;—that the memory of such men will “quietly climb to Heaven,” whether he, or any of his generation, deign to aid it or not;—and that every attempt to disparage genuine merit, and every effort to exalt beyond the due degree, will prove alike unavailing. He will recollect that the names of wise and patriotic statesmen, are the peculiar property of History,—the bright gems with which she *illuminates*

her fairest pages ; that their scutcheons stand not in ostentatious relief upon the frieze of “ temples made with hands ;” nor their deeds on records written in blood. Much less does their fair fame depend on the breath of a passing panegyrick. It will dwell in the hearts, in the memories, in the unfailing—the *ever-increasing* gratitude of millions, who must in successive ages arrive on the shores of being, to enjoy the blessings which by labour, anxiety, genius and self devotion, their fathers have obtained ; and of millions, who will assuredly obey the dictates of their nature, in cherishing the honest reputation of all the patriots who conferred liberty and happiness on their country.

The mournful, yet grateful duty demanded by the occasion,—the duty which the American people are every where assembling to perform, is one which never before fell to the lot of nation. The time, therefore, the incidents, and the characters ;—the history, the condition and the prospects of the mighty empire, with which they were connected, all demand utterance, all rush with overwhelming force upon the mind, filling it with images which language labours in vain to delineate. The spontaneous effusion, either of the *grief*, or the *gratitude* of a whole nation, is, in itself, an object the most sublime in the moral world. With the elevation of feeling occasioned by the latter

sentiment, recent occurrences have made us all familiar; but of the former, our country has happily not before been a witness, since the time when the sounds of lamentation came from the hallowed shades of Mount Vernon. And who, that could then lisp the name of Washington, does not remember the solemn event, which marked the closing year of the last century?

In order to convey some faint conception of the exalted characters, and of the mournful incidents which we commemorate, permit me to carry your imaginations back, for a few days only, to the morning of that jubilee whose approach was saluted with universal demonstrations of joy;—to that day, whose annual recurrence is greeted wherever throughout the world the cause of freedom finds a votary;—to that day, on which, wherever our stripes and our stars are found, these emblems of our union,—these ensigns of our prosperity, are sent up to the breezes of heaven, to manifest the gratitude and exultation of freemen, for the deeds of their sires.

Suppose that on *that* day, an American citizen who was born on the *fourth of July seventeen hundred and seventy-six*, had called around him his children's children, to rejoice in the festivities of the *natal day* both of their grand-parent and of their country.

Imagine that you hear them inquire—what were the great events which gave rise to the practice of annually convening at the festive board, on the martial field, in the civic hall, or the sacred sanctuary to celebrate this joyous anniversary. Behold how the countenance of each youthful listener glows with ardour, as his aged relative proceeds in the recital of the gallant deeds exhibited in days long past;—in times *so long* gone by, that to the youthful apprehension, they begin to constitute a part of the ages of romance. Imagine also that you hear them inquire, with all the intense curiosity that belongs to their years, what godlike *men* are those, around whom all are crowding, with eager impatience, to pay the homage of gratitude and affection? whom every tongue joins to bless and every hand is stretched forth to greet or to venerate?—whose locks seem whitened with the frosts of a hundred winters,—whose frames are bending beneath the accumulated weight of years, but whose countenances still kindle with enthusiasm at the mention of this “*great and glorious day.*” How do we hear such applauses lavished on mortal beings? We see childhood and youth, and manhood and age,—we see the great and the learned, and the virtuous and the pious, with every humbler rank of their fellow citizens, coming with their united heartfelt offerings and con-

gratulations, crying, “ *Honour to their grey hairs, and peace and serenity to the evening of their eventful days!*”

Or, are they indeed *not* mortals? Are they some of those heroes or demigods, who, (we have read) did, some centuries ago, obtain immortality? and do we see them stand here, clothed in the same bodies in which they acquired their title to perpetual existence?

Let us now suppose that he who was celebrating the semi-centennial anniversary of his birth-day, showed to these pledges of his children’s love, the usual indulgence of age, and condescended to set them right in this matter, so interesting to their feelings, by a rehearsal equally interesting to his own.

He then relates to them, that he cannot on every point speak with the certainty of personal knowledge, for that these men have come down from a period anterior by a third part of a century at least—by the full time of one generation—to the day of his birth; but that his own parent, who had now been for years numbered with the dead, used sometimes to gratify him with an account of the early lives of these very men, who were *his* cotemporaries and intimates.

Of the two, he continues, whom you behold at this moment surrounded by the greatest crowds of admiring attendants, he who seems the elder, and rather the more infirm, whose stature is somewhat below the



The Germantown Academy
Founded 1769

usual height, but whose form even now exhibits the marks of a vigour that fitted it for the abode of a magnanimous spirit ;—whom you see clothed in plain habiliments, approaching, in the degree of their simplicity, to those which distinguished the unostentatious *pilgrim fathers* ; —this patriarch, whom you see surrounded by his countrymen of all classes, and whose accents are, with peculiar veneration, treasured up by those who know him best, by those of his own *vicinity*—is a lineal descendant from those pilgrims whose garb his own seems to resemble,—from those pilgrims, who, flying from the storms and persecutions of the elder world, brought to these shores, the sternest virtue, and the most inflexible love of liberty.

He drew his first breath more than fourscore and ten years ago, on that iron-bound coast, which had proved so inhospitable to his ancestors, but which their patience, industry, frugality, and above all their love of learning and of liberty had, previously to his birth, converted into a smiling abode for thousands of generous and high-spirited freemen. I need not assure you, that a thirst for knowledge appeared with the dawn of his understanding, and that although his lot had not been cast among the sons of affluence, but in the honourable class of respected yeomanry, yet he despaired not in early youth, of attaining that

intellectual improvement which might place him in the rank for which, he felt, the God of nature had intended him. He became, in a degree, the artificer of his own fortune, even in the article of his education, and furnished an ennobling example of foregoing the gratification of youthful pride and passion, for the sake of procuring the invaluable blessings of wisdom. He pursued the course of liberal studies adopted in that ancient seat of learning, which it had been the first care of the pilgrim fathers to found and endow. He passed with honour, and with an independent reliance on his own genius and exertions, through the various departments of literary duty, and there drank at the unadulterated fountains of Grecian and Roman lore, the draughts of enthusiasm for liberty, which gave the prevailing temperament to his mind.

In selecting the profession in which to employ his talents, he chose that which usually leads through the severest mental toil, anxiety and *long suffering*, to the highest dignities and preferments. But he chose it in reference to the power which it might put into his hands, for maintaining the political privileges, no less than for defending the private rights of his countrymen. The bar witnessed astonishing efforts of his genius, but the habits of energetick publick speaking

which he acquired in courts of justice and carried to the popular assembly, the council and the senate house, proved more important than any ability in mere judicial pleading, which could possibly have been exhibited. His defence of certain aggressors upon publick order, when they were exposed to suffer too severely from popular indignation, is an evidence of his strong sense of justice, and of professional duty.—Rising rapidly to distinction as a jurist, he attracts to himself the regards of the constituted authorities of his native province, and subsequently receives the appointment of chief of its highest tribunal; but declines the honourable distinction, and with a success which seems beyond the grasp of human intellect, devotes himself wholly to the service of his country. Placed by the suffrages of his fellow citizens, in the grand council of the province, he soon justifies their choice, by gaining the confidence of the sons of liberty throughout the continent, and, what may be regarded as an equal honour, draws upon himself the marked displeasure of those who still worship the idol of regal power.

When the time had arrived for taking the final step that was to sever a portion from the dominion of Britain, and to form it into a new empire, this venerable sage was among the foremost, boldest assertors of

the rights of man, and the advocate of the most decisive measures, demanded by that hour of "perilous magnanimity."

But, exclaims a youth, it is time to inform who is that *other* venerable man, towards whom you have directed our attention;—he, whose stature is greater, but whose frame is less fitted to endure the burden of time, than that of the former; whose bearing and deportment indicate a different origin,—whose habits and demeanour seem to be those of a hereditary possessor of ample fortune, of which he disposes with a munificence which bespeaks the liberality of his nature.

"*That*, continues the aged narrator, is a descendant of those enterprising adventurers, who in the earliest period of emigration established the prosperous community which they named in honour of their *Virgin Queen*;—an "*ancient dominion*" of generous, hospitable, high-minded patriots,—a region, that claims and obtains the honourable appellation of the *nurse of great men*.

This venerable patriarch, too, over whom more than fourscore and three years have rolled their eventful course, was from his youth the votary of science. He laid broad and deep the foundations of greatness, by his early devotion to every thing manly and en-

nobling in the pursuits of youth. He came forth to the world and its duties, with all the attainments that could tend to ensure success in his future career. He too pursued the same profession in which we have seen his illustrious compatriot winning his way to eminence, and he too pursued it without artifice and without chicanery,—it being a uniform maxim of his practice, *never to engage in a cause, which, after the most rigid examination, he did not ascertain to be just.* Called to the councils of his native province when scarcely arrived at manhood, he brought to her service the fruits of laborious research into the laws and institutions of his country.

Though young in years he was already old in useful attainments and solid wisdom. He became eminent in the walks of legislation, not by idle discussions, and bombastic harangues, but by deep and patient investigation into every principle of political duty.

While in the house of Burgesses, the insidious propositions of Lord North, tending to disunite the confederated provinces, and to divert their attention from the real points at issue between themselves and the parent country, being presented for consideration, afforded the young statesman an opportunity for displaying the feelings of the patriot and the acuteness of the politician. His mind was too comprehensive in

its views to admit the adoption of temporizing expedients.

He agreed in the sentiment of Hawley, as reiterated by Henry, that the period had arrived when "*we must fight.*" "For ourselves," said he to the crafty minister of Britain, "we have exhausted every mode of application, which our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament;—they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our king with applications;—he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation;—their efforts in our favour have hitherto been ineffectual. What then remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours of those, to whom America hath confided her hopes."

Hitherto the two master spirits of the revolution had been known to each other, only as distant co-operators in the work of resistance to the aggressions of British ministers; but now the period approaches when they are to act in concert, and the metropolis of Pennsylvania is the scene where they and their compeers are to display their energies, and to build their imperishable renown. But do not imagine that the

august body in which they were about to appear was an arena where mere rhetorical gladiators were allowed to show their skill, for the amusement or astonishment of wondering constituents. The contest, which the Virginian legislator of *that day* found it necessary to maintain, was against the fears of the timid, the conscientious scruples of the pacific, and the deep seated predilections for the parent country, which many still continued to call by the endearing appellation of "*home*." Even the zeal and enthusiasm of the eastern patriot threw into the hands of the other more than his proportion of arduous and responsible duty. For some of the provinces still hesitated, still clung to the hope that conciliatory measures were possible, and such were likely to look, and did look, with an apprehension of rashness, upon those who came, with all their irritated feelings, from the scenes which had been recently acting in Fanueil Hall,—around the Liberty tree,—on the plain of Lexington, and on the heights of Bunker. The representatives of the thirteen different communities, composing that august assemblage, though all actuated by the purest patriotism, partook, of necessity, of various feelings and inclinations according to the peculiar circumstances and interests which distinguished the districts to which they respectively belonged. All were, however, to be

wrought upon and moulded, to receive the impress of the times, by those who foresaw the future dignity and greatness of their country, when she should be disenthralled from the shackles of foreign power.

The due degree of unanimity is finally produced, and the two worthies are associated to prepare that declaration, which is to fix forever, the destinies of a continent, and to modify those of a world. It becomes a matter of amicable controversy between them, which shall undertake the honourable task of penning the instrument,—each being disposed to transfer it to the other. At length, however, the elder succeeds in inducing his associate first to try his hand;—and so delighted is he with its production, that he agrees at once to report it, with a single verbal alteration. I cannot forbear pausing to invite your admiration to that magnanimity,—the index of true greatness, which disposed men, already becoming rivals in worth and in reputation, thus freely and ingenuously to acknowledge each other's transcendent merits. This disposition they have brought down through the most stormy times of political fanaticism, and are, at this moment, bearing in their bosoms the most cordial esteem and respect for each other. All attempts to embitter their evening hours, and to scatter thorns in their downward path to the tomb, have proved unavailing. The

great man has in each heart, triumphed over the *little animosity*. Each of the rival patriots having filled the world with his own fame, seems only anxious lest justice should not be done to the name of his venerated compatriot; so that throughout the happy borders of America, no two individuals can be found, who maintain for each other a more unbroken friendship than JOHN ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON. And shall I then attempt to mar your respect for these venerated characters? Forbid it Heaven! It were a political sacrilege of the deepest, foulest dye. Suffice it to say, that the best of men and the best of friends may sometimes differ in opinion, on topics of high moment, without implying any want of uprightness or of patriotism on either part.

You will find, on the examination of your country's records, how large a space both of these patriarchs have filled in the proud estimation of their fellow citizens. You will find that the elder, soon after the decisive step before related, had been taken, and while the struggle was still pending, was deputed to make known the justice of our cause, and the condition of our country, at the various courts in Europe.

The appearance of the plain citizen of a republick wrested from the grasp of British power, was an event so singular as to be regarded rather as a curious

phenomenon, than an object of political importance. The sounds of Liberty were then unfrequent in the European world ; and especially, when wafted across the Atlantick, they seemed so new, so strange, so full of improbability, that men scarcely credited their senses. Even in the Belgic provinces, the region where the love and sympathy for liberty were strongest,—the region where our cause ought to have met the most ready and decided approbation, the influence of Britain, had so far paralyzed the energies of patriotism, that the able memorial which this champion of our revolution and government, presented to their High Mightinesses, the States General, remained a full year without an answer ; remained, in fact, until by his amenity of deportment he had won the affections of the people, and by his spirited representations, had roused towns, cities and provinces to demand the formation of an alliance, and the virtual recognition of our independence. This point, however, he finally attained, and opened the way to confidence, among those who possessed the sinews of government, the disposable funds, so much needed by our infant nation. Thus at the moment when the immortal Franklin was laying the foundation of a durable friendship in every circle of the French metropolis, the venerated Adams was establishing our national

credit among the wealthy sons of the Batavian Republic, where the simplicity of his manners, the ingenuousness of his conduct, and his ardent enthusiasm for liberty, gained, both for himself and for his country, all the advantages which a republican could desire. Nor was his great associate of 1776, without his share in the glory of extending his country's reputation, and of securing her interests on foreign shores. When the gallantry of our fathers had won the way to peace and tranquility at home, the illustrious Jefferson and Adams were again associated, for the formation of treaties, and the extension of national reputation. As the successor of Franklin at the court of Versailles, the name of Jefferson was at once in the mouths of all France. Nor did he disappoint the expectations of those to whom he was accredited, any more than of the American people. His society was sought by the versatile *savans* of Paris, as well as the gayer circles of Versailles, and while he improved his own taste for the arts that embellish or dignify human nature, he found it practicable to add to the good opinion respecting American intellect, which Frenchmen had conceived from the wit and the wisdom of Franklin. But diplomattick duties were never neglected. The high trust of establishing commercial relations was at this period a vital matter to his country; to this were

his best efforts directed, and in this was he successful.

But besides fulfilling the high and responsible duties committed to these men, of placing our foreign relations on the most favourable footing, each found occasion by the exercise of his masterly pen to spread far and wide the knowledge of our domestick institutions, characters, and habits; and to hold up to the admiration of the world, the wisdom, no less than the heroism, of his countrymen. Of the "Defence of the Constitutions," and the "Notes on Virginia"—the one was written and the other published while their respective authors were in Europe, and tended not a little to strengthen the respect which prevailed for the characters of themselves and their native land. The principles, however, which, as the apostles of a new political faith, they proclaimed abroad, were not suffered to remain without exemplifications at home. They felt that giving a practical illustration of their republican tenets, was the surest mode of removing all doubts as to the possibility of entire self-government, by an enlightened people. Such exemplifications they gave, by each furnishing the draught of a constitution for his native state. The convention which framed that of Massachusetts, placed the experienced Adams at its head, and to his powerful mind was the state indebted for a great portion of the instrument, under

which that community continued to enjoy unexampled prosperity for forty years; and as evidence of the soundness and popularity of its provisions, may be adduced the fact, that when the same sage was, after that lapse of time, again elected to preside in a council for its revision, a very few points only, and those involving no change of political principles, were found to require alteration; and of the few amendments proposed by the convention, scarcely more than one half were adopted by the primary assemblies of the people. The constitution prepared for Virginia was received by the convention, at too late a period of its deliberations, to admit of being considered in detail; but the preamble of Jefferson was adopted and prefixed to the constitution just completed by that body.

But it is not in the formation, the administration, or the defence of constitutions, only, that the republican spirit of these patriots has been manifested. Their doctrines respecting the means of *maintaining* free institutions, are not less important than the principles of justice and equality on which those institutions are founded. They have ever felt that a democrattick government without general intelligence is a political absurdity. Hence the feelings and efforts of both, have been strongly engaged in the cause of diffusive and popular, as well as of liberal,

education. The first three years of the manhood of Adams were devoted to the duties of classical instruction, and his valuable library has within a few years been presented to the town in which he resides for the more extensive diffusion of the treasures of knowledge it contains. The latter days of Jefferson have been almost exclusively devoted to the immediate superintendence of the concerns of mental cultivation. I need not mention the name of the flourishing University, towards which parents and youth are alike turning their eyes with the fond hope of realizing its blessings.

This, then, (continues the aged narrator,) is the summary of the resemblances between these great and good patriarchs—both derived their being from races of hardy and spirited yeomen, whose ancestors had sought on these shores an abode for religious, moral and *political* freedom. Both were educated in the most liberal manner. Both devoted themselves to the same honourable profession, and both pursued it on the most exalted principles. Both attempted to improve the condition and practice of the law, the one by his revision of *common* and *statute*, and the other by his able dissertation on the *canon* and *feudal* laws. Both had been honoured by their fellow citizens, with high marks of confidence, in being placed in their re-

spective local legislatures, before being sent to the Congress of 1776. Both were on the committee of that body to consider the propositions of Lord North. Both were on the committee, and they *alone* were the subcommittee to prepare the Declaration of Independence. Both were appointed on the commission for proposing an alliance to France,—both on that for determining the conditions of the treaty of peace with England. Both were in 1784, furnished with plenipotentiary commissions addressed to the several courts of Europe for concluding treaties of commerce. Both were, after their return, in high stations in the government, while administered by our beloved Washington. Both furnished draughts of constitutions to their native states, and both their proposals were, in part, at least, adopted. Both in succession attained the first, after having filled the second office in the gift of their country. Each had the happiness to find his administration approved by many wise and good men, and each the unhappiness to see many others equally wise and good arrayed against it. Both saw, during their terms of office, the rapid progress of their country towards power and respect, and both have retired to private life, to enjoy the esteem of each other, and the boundless admiration of their fellow men. Both have seen portions of their policy made the ground-work of

every administration which has followed, and both have perceived other portions to be rejected, as no longer applicable to the state of the nation. Both have, in their retirement, done something towards diffusing right principles among their fellow citizens, both have placed their extensive libraries in situations to become sources of most valuable instruction;—both have been concerned in the superintendence of education, and both are living to witness this jubilee. They seem, indeed, the very Castor and Pollux of American History. One more coincidence only is wanting to complete their parallel. But, hark! my children;—what sounds do I perceive? What! a groan of anguish on this happy day of universal joy? It is impossible! But, ah! it is too true. It comes again; it comes from that numerous group of the great and the good,—of the sons of science and of patriotism whom you have seen crowding around the southern sage. And, listen! It breaks into faint but audible articulations.—“*I have done for my country, and for all mankind, all that I could, and I now resign my soul to God, and* MY DAUGHTER TO MY COUNTRY.”

“*My daughter to my country!*”—Generous souls of freemen, record, accept the dying bequest, before his sainted spirit shall be compelled to enter against you, an accusation of foul ingratitude!



Stairway, Germantown Academy

But what commotion do I behold around the form of the eastern patriarch? Is this, indeed, a day of miracles? While, in accordance with his own prophetick anticipations, the mingling millions of his countrymen are with “pomp, shows, games, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, solemnizing the day,” *his* thread of life, too, seems dwindling to nothing, and his soul just ready to take her flight.—“*What mean,*” he cries, “*all these sounds of mirth and exultation?*”—*Oh! yes, it is the great and glorious* FOURTH OF JULY! *God bless it; God bless you all. INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!*” Lo, there the “ruling passion strong in death;”—too strong alas for his brittle tenure of existence. The impulse of patriotick emotion is beyond the endurance of enfeebled nature. In a disembodied state only, can those exalted virtues dwell, with full fruition.

Freemen of America, you have seen the two devoted apostles of liberty and of your country, ascending at once to their final abode. United in life, undivided in death, they are gone to their last assembling with all the good and virtuous of their land;—gone to assist at the only Congress which is more august than that which proclaimed your Independence;—gone amidst a radiance of glory that dazzles the gaze which its splendour invites.

But let us not stand gazing up to Heaven.
Time admonishes us to fulfil the living maxims and
the dying injunctions of these venerated patriots ;—to
preserve the liberty which they gained,—to maintain
the union which they cemented ; to build up the
institutions which they founded, and

In each hall where Freedom spoke
With burning accents, let the vow
That from the lips of sages broke
Be by their sons repeated now.
Calling to remembrance still
All their struggles to be free ;
Their firm unconquerable will,
Breathing through that *great decree*.^{*}
Let us rouse the patriot fires,
In each ardent freeman's breast,
With *gratitude* that ne'er expires,
With a *zeal* that ne'er shall rest.

* The " Declaration."

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